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The Coinage of Tigranes the Great: Problems, Suggestions and a New Find

CLIVE FOSS

[PLATES 5-7]

IN about 1980, a group of over 100 bronzes of Tigranes the Great of Armenia, the largest so far reported, was discovered on a site in the Lebanon, and eventually appeared on the market. Although initially described as a hoard, the coins turned out to be a series of surface finds, perhaps the results of using a metal detector. Their almost invariable hard yellowish-green patina, however, indicates a common origin from one site. The mere existence of such a find encouraged publication, while closer inspection suggested that its large numbers might reveal much about the bronze coinage of the reign. Although no new types are represented, enough varieties are present to provide the basis for a general restudy and classification. It soon appeared that such a treatment should not be limited to the bronzes, for the silver coinage, especially the tetradrachms, were in no less need of study. Since these are larger and of higher artistic quality, they provide material for some stylistic analysis which may assist in classification and at least tentative attribution to mints. The first part of this discussion, therefore, will consider the silver coins and the problems which they present, while the new find will form the basis for a general consideration of the bronze coinage attributable to Tigranes.[1]

THE SILVER COINAGE

The most common ancient Armenian coins, appearing in virtually all museums and major collections, and frequently on the market, are the tetra-

[1] I have refrained from calling the king 'Tigranes II' for reasons which will become apparent below. The following special abbreviations are used in the notes:

Bedoukian	P. Bedoukian, *Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenia* (London, 1978).
Le Rider, 1959	G. le Rider, 'Monnaies grecques acquises par le cabinet de médailles en 1959', *RN*[6] 2 (1960), 7-35.
Mushegyan, *Klady*	H. Mushegyan, *Monetnye Klady Armenii* (Erevan, 1973).
Pachomov 1, 2, 6	E. A. Pachomov, *Monetnye Klady Azerbaydzhana*: 1 (Baku, 1926); 2 (Baku, 1938); 6 (Baku, 1954).
Seyrig, 'Nisibe'	H. Seyrig, 'Trésor monétaire de Nisibe', *RN*[5] 17 (1955), 85-128.
Sullivan, 'Commagene'	R. D. Sullivan, 'The dynasty of Commagene', *ANRW* II.8 (1977), 732-98.
Sullivan, 'Papyri'	R. D. Sullivan, 'Papyri reflecting the eastern dynastic network', *ANRW* II.8 (1977), 908-38.

drachms of Tigranes which bear the Tyche of Antioch as their reverse type.[2] Their range of style and monograms, and the large numbers of dies used, suggests that they were struck in immense quantities, and probably from a number of mints. So far, however, no coherent system of classification seems to have been devised to take all major variations into account, and thus to serve as the basis for possible attribution.[3] An obvious means of classification is provided by the monograms which invariably appear on the reverse; they have been so used with varying degrees of success. Since the coins are large and well-executed, it is possible to introduce another element, that of style, which has only been sporadically employed. The portraits of the king exhibit considerable variation, in some cases greater than might be expected from the products of one workshop or mint. These variations often coincide with the monograms, so that both together will be used as a basis for the proposed classification, which hopes to list the major discernible types, without stating or implying that each is the product of a different mint. The list will be followed by a discussion of mints, circulation patterns and related topics.

TETRADRACHM TYPES

All show on the obverse the bust of Tigranes wearing a diadem and tiara with flaps which cover the ear and neck and, rarely visible, an earring. The king is generally portrayed with well-defined features and an aquiline nose. There are differences in the style of portrait and treatment of the tiara which, unless otherwise indicated, ends in five triangular points and is decorated with a 'star' between two eagles. The 'star' appears, in fact, to be a representation

[2] The few types which portray the Tyche of Damascus offer no special problems and will be treated not in this list, but in the following discussion.

[3] Three systems of classification have so far been devised. G. Macdonald, in 'The coinage of Tigranes I', *NC*[4] 2 (1902), 193-201, proposed a chronological system based on the use of titles, with the Damascus type representing a third and latest series. The more comprehensive system of H. Toros ('Tigran's Tetradrachms', *SAN* 2 (1970), 17-18), organized the monograms into classes, but took no account of style. Finally, and most important because it appears in the standard work of reference, is the system of P. Bedoukian (*Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenia* (London, 1978)), whose numbers will be given here, preceded by 'Bed'. Although this pioneering work is indispensable for the volume of material it contains, the classification proposed for the tetradrachms seems arbitrary and often innaccurate, as may easily be determined from the excellent illustrations. A few examples may suffice to suggest the problems involved: coins struck from the same dies appear as different types (examples will be noted below); field letters are inaccurately or incompletely reported (e.g. Bed 7, 8, 9, 11, 20, 36); the same coin is illustrated more than once and presented as a different type (Bed 18 and 39; Bed 67 and 70; reverses of Bed 96 and 97). The latter is no doubt a product of confused illustration rather than faulty cataloguing, as is the exchange of reverses between Bed 35 and 41. The present classification has been worked out for the purpose of dealing with the bronze coinage and makes no claim to be definitive; it is based on inspection of coins of Tigranes in the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), The Cabinet de Médailles (Paris), and of the coins and photo files of the American Numismatic Society. My sincere thanks to Nancy Waggoner, Frank Campbell, and Mary Martin of that organization, who greatly facilitated the present research.

of the sun with whom the king may have been identified.[4] The reverse shows the Tyche of Antioch seated right on a rock, wearing a long robe and mural crown, and holding a palm branch in her right hand.[5] In most cases the folds of drapery hang approximately parallel to the leg of Tyche; variations are noted, as is the presence of a 'ribbon' (or more probably, a rudder) below the palm. The god of the river Orontes swims naked at her feet toward the right, his left arm extended from the water. Monograms appear on the rock on which Tyche sits, in various parts of the field, and in the exergue. The final column of the following list is intended as an approximate guide to rarity, based on the number of specimens reported.[6]

	Monograms[7]			
	l. field	*r. field*	*ex.*	*Examples*
Classes inscribed **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ**				
A *Obv.*: Well-proportioned realistic features; tall bust; cylindrical tiara; fine drapery on neck; long thin flaps separated at eye level. *Rev.*: Drapery makes pronounced right-angle turn on rock.				
1. Bed 8		ΖΛ/Α	ΞΚ	1
2. Bed 7, 9a		ΗΛ	ΞΚ	3
B *Obv.*: Similar, but tall tiara tilted back following line of brow.				
Bed 9		Δ/Η Λ		1
Classes inscribed **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ**				
C *Obv.*: Narrow bust, sloping tiara without eagles and sun with one extended ray ('comet').				
Bed 10			ΣΩ	3

[4] The symbolism is explained by K. Trever (*Ocherki po Istorii Kulturi Drevnei Armenii* (Moscow, 1953), pp. 62, 93), with convincing reference to a sculpture of Hatra.

[5] For the identification of this figure, see below, pp. 34f.

[6] The figure in the final column is usually the number of specimens reported by Bedoukian. In some cases, however, I have substituted the total represented in the ANS photo files, and enclosed the number in parentheses. Naturally, these figures are not valid as a census of existing specimens, for there are many others in public and private collections, and on the market. They do give, however, a rough indication of rarity. Where sufficient examples are available, I have attempted to count the different dies which appear on the ANS photographs, and so noted in the text.

[7] Monograms in the left field normally appear on the rock (class E is the only exception); those on the right may be above or below the palm branch; if they appear in both positions, they are separated here by a stroke, /. Monograms rarely appear in the exergue (classes C and D only). Classes marked with an asterisk are illustrated on **Pl. 5.** The illustrations on **Pls. 5–7** comprise tetradrachms from the ANS and BM (**Pl. 5**), as well as rare and well-preserved examples from the present lot (**Pls. 6–7**). All are full size except j (**Pl. 7**), which is enlarged by about 50 per cent.

		Monograms			
		l. field	*r. field*	*ex.*	*Examples*
D	*Obv.*: Broad bust, strong aquiline features. Somewhat tapering tiara, tilted back: 'comet', no eagles; flaps separated at line of jaw. *Rev.*: Drapery falls straight down from body of Tyche. Broad flan; Bed 11 The solitary drachm reported with this inscription, Bed 49, is of this type and style.		Π	ΔΗΜΟ[8]	1
*E	*Obv.*: Portrait intermediate in style between B and D; normal tiara. *Rev.*: Small Tyche with large letters. Broad flan. Bed 29	Δ M	H		4
F	*Obv.*: Great variety of portrait, usually in a distinctly classical style. Broad trapezoidal tiara, often sloping back; flaps separated at neck. *Rev.*: Small Tyche, drapery well-executed. Lettering medium to small, usually with dots at the angles of the letters. Much variation in form of the monograms. Flans of this type are usually small and compact.				
	*1. Fillets at back of tiara descend in parallel lines: ⟩. This variety is very common, with 18 *obv.* and 32 *rev.* dies represented in the ANS photo file. Bed 20 (text, not figure)	⊕[9]	⏃[10]		(34)
	*2. As F1, represented by 4 of the above *rev.* dies. Bed 20, 26 (figs.)	⊕	⏄[11]		(4)
	3. Left fillet projects in a curve: ⟙ 3 *obv.*, 6 *rev.* dies in ANS. Bed 20 (text)	⊕	⏃		(6)

[8] The letters in the exergue are reported by G. le Rider ('Monnaies grecques récemment acquises par le cabinet de Paris', *RN*[6] 11 (1969), 16f.), and clearly appear in his photograph, which is of the same coin figured as Bed 11.

[9] On two specimens of all varieties (1–4), the left monogram appears as a simple cross; this is not associated with any other variation, and may be considered the result of poor engraving.

[10] Variant forms: ⏁⏂⏃. None seems to have any significance.

[11] Variant form: ⏄

		Monograms		
	l. field	*r. field*	*ex.*	*Examples*
*4. *Obv.*: Fillet forms elaborate curve; ⊰ broad head, fleshy features. *Rev.*: Large, awkward lettering. 6 *obv.*, 12 *rev.* dies at ANS.[12] Bed 35/41[13]	₽	⏃		(14)
*G *Obv.*: Similar classical portrait; tiara with beads instead of points. *Rev.*: Small neat lettering with dots at angles. Small compact flans; a common type: ANS shows 9 *obv.*, 25 *rev.* dies. Bed 17, 30	⍓	⍲[14]		(30)
*H *Obv.*: Similar features; beads on tiara. Mostly compact, some broad flans. Common: ANS shows 8 *obv.*, 15 *rev.* dies. Bed 19, 34 (figs. show same coin).	⍓	⊖[15]		(17)
I *Obv.*: Much variety of portrait, often with broad, fleshy features. Beads on tiara; short flaps. *Rev.*: Lettering usually large and coarse.				
*1. Bed 21	⍓	—		20
2. Bed 18, 39[16] Varieties 1 and 2 are linked by a common obverse die in the figs. of Bed 18 (= 39) and 21.	⍓	A		3
3. Bed 28	A	—		4
*4. Bed 33[17]	⊖ ⍓	—		1

[12] In three cases, the reverse dies of this variety are almost identical in style and lettering with those of variety 1.

[13] Inspection of the illustrations of Bed 35 and 41 will show that the reverses have been interchanged: the coins are of different size, and the distinctive style of Bed 41 *obv.* leaves no doubt that it is to be associated with Bed 35 *rev.* The monograms have been read from Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, pl. XXIX, 8, a coin of identical style; the rock monogram of Bed 41 *rev.* appears to be obscured by poor striking. A coin of the same type is in the British Museum.

[14] This monogram is sometimes poorly engraved so that it appears to be A; I have therefore included Bed 30 (not illustrated) with this type.

[15] Sometimes carelessly engraved to resemble O.

[16] The two 'types' reported as Bed 18 and 39 are illustrated with photographs of the same coin; the description indicates that they do not represent separate varieties, but that the monogram of the first was misread because poorly engraved.

[17] The only reported specimen is supposed to be in the ANS, but the piece there, although of the same weight and type, is not the coin illustrated.

		Monograms		
	l. field	*r. field*	*ex.*	*Examples*
J *Obv.*: Large head with bold features; beads on tiara. *Rev.*: Tyche holds rudder below palm. Flans often broad.				
1. Bed 22	Σ	—		6
*2. Bed 31 = 32	Σ	•		3
K *Obv.*: Fleshy, 'oriental' features; small tiara with points. *Rev.*: Small Tyche, leaning forward. Small compact flan, often with high relief.				
1. Bed 23	Σ	—		3
2. Bed 38 Varieties K2 and K3 are linked by common obverse dies in the ANS photo file.	⊕	—		1
3. Bed — (ANS photos)	—	—		(2)
L *Obv.*: Very distinctive stylised features, with prominent nose and eye. Tall cylindrical tiara with high triangular points. *Rev.*: Tyche awkwardly perched on rock; schematic drapery projects downward from thigh. Letters poorly proportioned.				
*1. Bed 24, 25, 40 The examples illustrated by Bed, as well as all those in the ANS photo file, are struck from the same obverse die.	—	⊤[18]		15
2. As previous, except that tiara has large round beads. Bed 41/35[19]	—	⊤		1
Unclassified. Since photographs of the following have not been published, it has been impossible to determine the accuracy of their readings or assign them a place in the present classification.[20]				

[18] This appears in a variety of forms, some almost resembling a T; that of Bed 25, reported as ▽, appears to be the same monogram badly executed or struck from a worn die.

[19] See above, n. 13.

[20] A few types have been omitted from the present classification for specific reasons. Most important among them is no doubt Bed 16 of which only one specimen is recorded. Its reverse appears to show Tyche or the seated Armenian king holding the freshly severed head of the

	Monograms			
	l. field	*r. field*	*ex.*	*Examples*
1. Bed 37 (Berlin, Erivan)		—		2
2. Bed 38a (Erivan)	A			1
3. Pachomov 2, 318 (Baku)[21]				1

OTHER SILVER COINS

Tigranes also struck a large number of drachms, of which two main varieties exist. The first, known only in two specimens, corresponds in every way to the tetradrachms of class D, and has been noted above. The rest are of class A, with the same type, portrait, inscription, and a slightly greater variety of field letters, with those which may be read as numbers ranging from 34 to 38. Portraits are usually those of classes A or B. They offer no special problems of classification.

There exist, in addition, three unique silver coins (Bed 88–90) smaller and lighter than the drachms, but not representing any obvious fraction of them. They weigh from 3·0–3·5 g, and have diameters of 13–14 mm, while the drachms vary from 3·2 to 4·6 g, and measure 19–21 mm. These have a somewhat different portrait, with a pronounced aquiline nose and prominent jaw; the tiara is low and cylindrical with large points, and bears the usual decoration. Bed 89 and 90 are linked by a common obverse die. Their portrait and that of Bed 88 are sufficiently similar and fit sufficiently well into the range of portraits of Tigranes that attribution seems assured.

Of these, the type of Tyche and the imperial title associate Bed 89 with the drachms and tetradrachms. The reverses of the others are anomalous: Bed 88

Orontes, who nevertheless continues to swim below without a head. H. Toros ('Tigran's Hoax', *SAN* 1 (1969), 29–31) explained this as commemorative of the defeat and execution of the Seleucid queen Cleopatra Selene and suggested that its monogram Σ indicated a mint at Seleucia on the Tigris, a place which Tigranes never controlled. This was probably a slip for Seleucia on the Euphrates, where the queen was executed. In the context of Greek iconography however, such an interpretation seems inappropriately graphic, even gruesome, and another explanation is perhaps to be sought. One obvious possibility is that the type represents a fantasy not of Tigranes but of a modern forger. Such interpretation would seem justified by the anomalous portrait which resembles no other, by the peculiar crown and shapeless drapery of Tyche, and by the indeterminate configuration of rock and swimmer. A comparison with Bed 27 is helpful: the two obverses appear to be struck from the same die, and the Tyches have the same characteristics. An example of Bed 27 from the same dies as those illustrated was in the collection of Col. Allotte de la Fuÿe sold in Paris by Ciani, 17–21 Feb. 1925, as lot 963. It is marked 'forgery' in the ANS photo file, and was evidently so regarded at the sale, where it brought only 16F, while other tetradrachms of Tigranes were sold at 200F or more. From this it would appear that Bed 27, and most likely with it Bed 16, are forgeries. A specimen of Bed 27 which I recently saw for sale had all the characteristics of a *fourré*, in spite of the assurances of the vendor, and may serve to confirm such suspicions. In addition, I have omitted Bed 42 whose crude execution, with many details (including all the lettering) misunderstood, indicates a counterfeit.

[21] This was one of two tetradrachms found at Karyagino (now Fizuli) in southwest Azerbayjan. The other was reported to bear the letter Φ and was thus perhaps of class F. The position of the monograms was not given in either case.

has the figure of an elephant, while Bed 90 shows a well-drawn horse (or perhaps a biga). Analogies with the bronze coinage which has types similar to Bed 88 and Bed 89 will suggest that these are respectively the products of Syria and Tigranocerta, while Bed 89, because of its shared obverse, will also be from Tigranocerta.

MINTS

The great majority of coins of Tigranes, whether silver or bronze, contain no unambiguous indication of mint. Type and historical circumstances would suggest that many, if not most, of them were struck in Antioch, but no satisfactory criteria for assignment there or elsewhere have been developed. It will certainly not be possible here to attribute each of the above types to a specific mint, yet degrees of probability may be established for some and the possibilities for the others narrowed. The following discussion, which will deal only with the silver coins, will attempt assignment to mints, or at least to regions, by using all available criteria, including the element of style, which in some cases will enable useful distinctions to be made.

Only one group of coins may be assigned without hesitation or ambiguity to a mint. The rare tetradrachms which have as their reverse type the Tyche of Damascus were struck in that city, as has long been known. They are unified by type, style, monogram, and dating, all of which differ from the rest of the coinage. The portraits are crudely executed, with heads broad or narrow, eyes and nose simple and exaggerated, and a tiara which bears a 'star' and only one eagle, with a single flap covering the ear, separated at the neck. This kind of portrait exhibits traits found in coins of late Seleucid rulers from the same mint, and may be considered typical of Damascus in the first century BC. Similarly, the monograms appear on Damascene coinage of the late second and early first centuries BC which, like these, are dated by the Seleucid era.[22] Here, alone, there are no grounds for doubt.

Some of the types with the Tyche of Antioch may be attributed with a high degree of probability, even if certainty is elusive. Class A stands out from the rest both because of its use of the full title 'King of Kings' and its especially fine portraits. This type shows a complete bust, with drapery on the shoulder and neck (most of the rest are cut off just below the neck), realistic and well-proportioned features, and a tall cylindrical tiara with long narrow flaps separated quite high. The portrait is probably the finest of the whole series. The reverse has letters in the field and the exergue which do not appear on other types. These letters and the use of the full title associate this group with the far more common drachms, all but one type of which have the same

[22] These coins and related issues are discussed by E. T. Newell, *Late Seleucid Mints in Ake-Ptolemais and Damascus*, *NNM 84* (New York, 1939), pp. 97–100; see pp. 103f. for monograms, and the plates for comparative portraits.

reverse, but a somewhat less careful portrait on the obverse, probably because the smaller flan gave the artist less scope. The common characteristics leave no doubt that both denominations are the product of the same mint.

It is most probable that these coins were struck in Armenia. In their fine style, they resemble the rather elegant tetradrachm of the son and successor of Tigranes, Artavasdes II (Bed 129).[23] This, now in Erivan, was necessarily struck in Armenia because Artavasdes no longer controlled the vast territories to the south which the Romans had taken from his father. The provenance of the coins of Tigranes, where available, may be significant: one of the tetradrachms was found in an important hoard in Armenia; the location of one of the others in Erivan may also indicate that it, too, was discovered in Armenia.[24] More evidence is available for the drachms: 23 of them were recently found in a hoard, apparently unpublished, in Soviet Armenia; five appeared in connection with the tetradrachm mentioned above, and two were unearthed in the excavations of the important site of Mingechevir on the Cyrus river in the neighbouring province of Azerbayjan.[25]

More general considerations suggest that a coinage with few tetradrachms and many drachms would be appropriate to Armenia. In the Hellenistic period the tetradrachm was the most common silver coin of the Hellenized regions of Syria and Phoenicia, while the native kingdoms of Cappadocia and Parthia favoured the drachm. Geographically and historically, Armenia was far closer to the latter and significantly, when the Kingdom was deprived of its conquests and reduced to its original homeland, Artavasdes II struck far more drachms than tetradrachms.[26] The letters on the reverse offer further confirmation. If, as appears most probable, some of them (those compounded with *lambda*) represent regnal years, they indicate that this coinage was struck in the last part of the reign of Tigranes, 61–57 BC. At that time he ruled only Armenia and the immediately adjacent territories. In that case the type of the Tyche of Antioch and the imperial title would appear anomalous or pretentious; they will be considered below. Find spots and the probable date of the coinage suggest that the mint was at Artaxata in the Armenian highlands, the original capital and centre of the territories which remained.

Closely related to this type are classes B, C, D, and E, all apparently quite rare. Class B, represented by only one coin, employs the imperial title and a similar portrait, while the others have the royal title. The coins of class D differ from B only in the field letters and title; the portraits are notably similar.

[23] A specimen of the same type in better condition and of an even finer style was sold in the Bank Leu auction of 28 April 1982 as lot 201. It was struck from different dies, and had the letters IZ (instead of IH, both apparently dates) on the reverse. It was described as the third specimen known.

[24] Hoard: Mushegyan, *Klady*, no. 128.

[25] Bedoukian, 17; Mushegyan, *Klady*, nos. 123–7; Pachomov 6, 1458; E. A. Pachomov, 'Monety Mingechaura', in *Materialnaya Kultura Azerbaydzhana*, vol. II (Baku, 1951), p. 143 (details of find).

[26] Bed 129–31.

C and D are united by the peculiar decoration of the tiara, which has no eagles but a sun with one elongated ray (a 'comet'); its significance, if any, is unknown. Both have letters in the exergue, respectively ΣΩ and ΔΗΜΟ. A single drachm belongs with the latter. The presence of the drachm and particularly the similarity of style suggest an association between these four classes and A, so that they may be considered for the moment as a 'northern' group, struck in Armenia or some neighbouring territory. Since the majority of the bronze coins display similar characteristics, a more specific assignment to Tigranocerta and Nisibis will be discussed in connection with them.

The most common tetradrachms by far are those which bear the monograms ⊕ and ⊕ *vel sim.*, a well-executed portrait of classical style, and are usually struck on small or dumpy flans (class F). These may without hesitation be assigned to Antioch. On general grounds alone, this is an obvious conclusion: the most common coins should have been struck in the capital, the greatest city of the East, and they bear a type symbolic of Antioch and indelibly associated with it. This series corresponds with Antiochene coins of the first century BC which, like them, have well-executed portraits and are usually struck on similar flans. The identification is confirmed by the style of lettering: late Seleucid coins of Antioch have letters with small dots at the angles, and in particular manifest a peculiar form of the letter *phi*, ⊹: it is universal on the coins of Philip Philadelphus, the predecessor of Tigranes, and appears here as one of the forms of the field monogram.[27]

By similar reasoning, the well struck and common coins of classes G and H are probably to be assigned to Antioch or a closely related mint. They, too, are executed in a classical style, are struck on compact flans, display the peculiarities of lettering just noted, and are quite common. On the other hand they show a tiara which is crowned with beads rather than the habitual triangular points, a detail whose significance is unknown. The two types have different field letters, but share the monogram ⋀ on the rock. This, together with the stylistic characteristics, suggests that both types are the product of one mint, but whether their common monogram should be taken to indicate a mint different from the previous, or merely another workshop of it, remains uncertain.[28] There is, of course, no reason why Antioch should not have produced a vast range of coinage from a variety of workshops. In this case, however, the decoration of the tiara may indicate another mint not far removed, presumably in a city of Syria.

[27] See E. T. Newell, 'The Seleucid mint of Antioch', *AmJNum* 51 (1917), 123, and illustrations.

[28] I have not attempted to attribute these coins to mints by their use of monograms which appear elsewhere. At Antioch, for example, a large coinage of Antiochus X (94–92 BC) bears the monogram Σ found here on classes I, J, and K, and many Seleucid coins of Damascus have the ⋀ of classes G and H. If these could be shown to be mintmarks, the equation would be obvious. They appear, however, to represent the names of mint officials, and could thus stand for such common names as might be found anywhere.

Class I, like the preceding, has beads on the tiara, is usually struck on compact flans, and is quite common. It differs, however, in style of lettering and portrait. It may thus be the product of a neighbouring mint, probably a large city. This type shares the monogram ⊙Σ with classes J and K. The former also has beads on the tiara, but employs a broad flan and has a notably bold portrait, while K is struck in high relief on a broad flan and shows a tiara with points. It would appear, therefore, that the monogram is not significant for attribution (it probably stands for a common Greek name), and that the three types may have been the products of three separate but related mints; they were perhaps struck in Syria.

Class L stands apart from the rest by the peculiarly crude style of obverse and reverse. The stylized features with bold, birdlike eye and tall cylindrical tiara are noteworthy and distinguish this from any other. The awkwardly seated and draped Tyche and crude lettering of the reverse are no less distinctive. It appears not to be the product of any mints or regions yet considered. At first sight it is tempting to resolve its field monogram ⊤ as ΤΙΓΡ, the initial letters of Tigranocerta, and to suppose that this series was struck in the new capital which Tigranes founded. Use of such initial letters as a mintmark has parallels in the late Hellenistic period. This practice, however, was unusual, and confined to Phoenicia and possibly Syria; it would be unexpected in northern Mesopotamia, the region of Tigranocerta.[29] The odd style would seem even more surprising in the new capital, which was largely inhabited by Greeks brought in from the conquered territories, and where high standards of craftsmanship would be expected. Its very peculiarities, however, suggest an unexpected solution. The portrait which most closely resembles this appears not on the coinage of Tigranes at all, but on that of his neighbour, Antiochus of Commagene. Comparison of tetradrachms of class L with the bronzes of Antiochus (**Pl. 5**) reveal an uncanny resemblance; the latter display the same fishy eye, the same tall cylindrical tiara sloping back following the line of the nose and brow, and virtually identical features.[30] Although it is not necessary to suppose that the dies were cut by the same artist, it seems difficult to escape the conclusion that they were the product of the same workshop.

Such a close connection between the coins of two distinct though neighbouring kingdoms might seem surprising or even implausible. Historical circumstances, however, offer an explanation which even provides a specific suggestion for the location of the mint. The ancient kingdom of Commagene

[29] Inspection of the appropriate volumes of *BMC* shows that such was the practice of autonomous mints of Berytus, Byblus, and Tyre and of the royal mint of Apamea and possibly for a time Damascus (on which see E. T. Newell, *Late Seleucid Mints in Ake-Ptolemais and Damascus*, *NNM* 84 (New York, 1939), p. 83). Le Rider (1959), p. 23, notes the rarity of this practice.

[30] On the attribution of these coins to Tigranes which the resemblance of portrait and tiara has produced, see below, p. 52.

occupied the hilly territory west of the Euphrates, opposite Sophene, which Tigranes ruled, and those parts of northern Mesopotamia which he conquered. It reached the height of its prosperity under Antiochus I Theos (*c.*69–31 BC) who, profiting from his control of the two major river crossings at Samosata and Seleucia/Zeugma, embarked on a grandiose programme of building; its most spectacular traces are the monumental shrines of Nemrud Dagh and the neighbouring Arsamea. The fate of the kingdom during the reign of Tigranes is obscure: it was well situated to succumb to his expansionist campaigns, and the use of the Armenian tiara on coins and monuments of Antiochus has been taken to suggest that he had acknowledged the suzerainty of Tigranes and subsequently claimed legitimacy as a successor to part of his vast kingdom.[31] Whatever the merits of this suggestion, it is clear that one important part of Commagene was in the hands of Tigranes, the crossing of the Euphrates at Seleucia/Zeugma. After his final victory over the Seleucid queen Cleopatra Selene, who had led resistance against him in Syria, Tigranes imprisoned her at Seleucia, where she was eventually executed. In Pompey's settlement of 66, Seleucia was given to Antiochus of Commagene, who proceeded to erect there a shrine of some magnificence, comparable to that of Arsamea.[32] The city was evidently of importance to both monarchs, and a suitable place for a mint, because of both the advantages of its situation for trade, and the strategic value of its fortifications which could protect a treasure as well as a garrison. It seems plausible, therefore, that tetradrachms of class L, as well as the bronzes of Antiochus, were struck there.

No such attribution may be made for the rest or even, as noted, for most of the types already discussed. The number of possible mints in the territories ruled by Tigranes seems so large that speculation would be pointless. Considerations of history, geography, and numismatics, however, may serve to limit these possibilities by eliminating some sites from consideration.

Coins of Tigranes were necessarily struck in the areas which he controlled. At the height of his power on the eve of the Roman attack, he could claim suzerainty over Armenia and the adjacent regions of Sophene, Gordyene, Atropatene, and probably Commagene, the Greek countries of Syria, Cilicia, and Phoenicia, and northern Mesopotamia with parts of Assyria.[33] Syria prospered under his rule and relations with its cities appear to have been good.

[31] See the general survey of Sullivan, 'Commagene', 759–70, especially 760 ff., and his detailed discussion, 'Diadochic coinage in Commagene after Tigranes the Great', *NC*[7] 13 (1973), 18–39.

[32] Cleopatra Selene: Strabo xvi. 2. 3 (749); Pompey: ibid.; Appian, *Mith.* 114; shrine and remains: J. Wagner, *Seleukia am Euphrat/Zeugma* (Wiesbaden, 1976), especially pp. 117–23.

[33] Full references may be found in the article of F. Guyer, 'Tigranes I', in *RE* (1936). The history of Tigranes is treated by H. Manandian (*Tigranes II et Rome*, Lisbon, 1963), in a detail necessarily prolix since the sources are so few. Almost all ancient texts dealing with the subject have been included in translation; reference to the work may be assumed whenever an historical event is mentioned here.

The coinages of Laodicea, Berytus, and Apamea offer confirmation, for all of them began under Tigranes, as a result of his grant of privileges. Laodicea in particular began to strike its abundant series of tetradrachms, apparently reflecting its position as the major seaport of the kingdom. In these cases, the grant of privileges resulted in an autonomous, not royal, coinage.[34] During the whole period one city near Antioch, its port of Seleucia, held out against Tigranes and retained its independence: its coinage continues without interruption. It seems likewise probable that the great ports of Tyre and Sidon also remained independent, for their local coinages, established before the time of Tigranes, show no change or interruption in this period.[35]

On historical grounds, the tetradrachms could have been struck anywhere else in the territories of Tigranes, but numismatic considerations further restrict the possibilities. Besides the Phoenician cities which were probably independent, several mints had distinctive ways of marking their coins which do not appear on any of Tigranes. At Apamea, Berytus, and Byblus, these took the form of monograms which represented the initial letters of the city's name, while at Laodicea the coins usually bore pairs of letters and a monogram. Similarly the coins of Apamea and Tripolis, like those of the independent Phoenician cities, were dated.[36] It could, of course, be objected that the mintmasters of Tigranes followed different practices from those of the autonomous cities, but the royal coinage of Damascus indicates that this was not the case. There, the tetradrachms continued to be dated by the Seleucid era, and both they and the bronzes bore monograms characteristic of the mint. Similarly the coins attributable to Antioch, like late Seleucid coins known to have been struck there, bear no dates; they have two monograms, a practice for which parallels may be found in earlier issues.[37]

Although these considerations may eliminate most of the mints of Syria and Phoenicia which struck their own silver in this period, the example of the Seleucid kings, who issued coins from a great range of mints, and the vast extent of the empire of Tigranes, leave many possibilities open. Ideally, evidence from hoards or excavations of the circulation of these coins should indicate the places or regions where they were struck, but this information is too sparse to support discussion. Instead, as will be seen, historical considerations will prove of greater value.

More is known about the drachms than the tetradrachms: as already noted, these have been found in hoards and excavations in Armenia and the neighbouring regions, where they seem to have circulated; no finds are reported from other parts of the kingdom. Several finds of tetradrachms are likewise

[34] See the important study of H. Seyrig, 'Sur les ères de quelques villes de Syrie', *Antiquités Syriennes* IV (Paris, 1953), 72–117 (= *Syria* 27 (1950), 5–50); supplemented by O. Mørkholm, 'The autonomous tetradrachms of Laodicea ad Mare', *ANSMN* 28 (1983), 89–108.

[35] See the references in the previous note, with *BMC Phoenicia*.

[36] See above, n. 29.

[37] Details may be found in *BMC Syria*, and Newell, op. cit. in n. 27, 137–51.

reported from the Caucasus, but in most cases the types were not recorded.[38] Only the hoard from Sarnakunk near Sisian in Armenia provides some details: ten Artaxiad pieces, seven of them drachms, appeared among the 373 recorded silver coins which were apparently buried at the time of the Armenian campaigns of Mark Antony. Of the three tetradrachms, one was of class A attributable to Armenia, and one each were of classes F and H probably of Antioch.[39] Since the hoard contained a great number of Syrian, Phoenician, Parthian, and Roman coins, it provides no confirmation for the place of minting, for coins struck anywhere in the realm might have been included. It suggests only that the coins of Tigranes were not in common use, or relatively rare, a generation after his death. The rest of the kingdom is represented by only one uninformative hoard: 25 tetradrachms (no details given) found in Syria.[40]

The record of Tigranes' conquests has already provided some information about places which probably did not strike coins; it may also offer positive suggestions. The ancient capital of Artaxata in Armenia, and the grandiose new foundation of Tigranocerta, at the northern edge of the Mesopotamian plain, yet still within territories traditionally ruled by Armenian kings, were natural sites for mints and may be so considered. Besides its role as traditional capital, Artaxata had in its vicinity the two forts where the main treasures of Tigranes were guarded, so that an ample supply of bullion would have been available.[41] Tigranocerta, named for Tigranes and founded by him on the site where he had first been proclaimed king, soon eclipsed the ancient capital and grew to a considerable size. It was centrally located on the main trade routes which tied the great empire together, a suitable place for a new capital. The king endowed his new foundation with a Greek population transplanted from twelve cities and other regions, and adorned it with sumptuous buildings. It soon became a great centre for administration and trade, as well as the storehouse for the royal treasure.[42] This was so enormous that Lucullus, on his capture of the city in 69, was able to seize 8,000 talents in coined money, and to give 800 drachmas to each of his 17,000 soldiers.[43] Some of this loot, no doubt, consisted of tetradrachms struck by Tigranes.

The province of Sophene, the region between the upper Tigris and Euphrates adjacent to the Armenian homeland, also contained sites suitable

[38] Pachomov 1, 25: one tetradrachm found at Zugdidi at the edge of the coastal plain in western Georgia; ibid., 26: 'several' tetradrachms from Alexandropol, now Leninakan, in Armenia; Pachomov 2, p. 318; two tetradrachms from Karyagino in Azerbayjan (see above, 'unclassified').

[39] Mushegyan, *Klady*, nos. 12, 121, 122.

[40] *IGCH*, 1577.

[41] Strabo xi. 14. 6 (529).

[42] Site and history, with description and full references: C. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt* (Berlin, 1910), pp. 380–429, and article, 'Tigranocerta', in *RE*; trade: H. A. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade* (Lisbon, 1965), pp. 58–63. Note that Mr T. A. Sinclair, in a forthcoming study, will demonstrate on convincing grounds that Tigranocerta was not at Mayyafarqin, as usually believed, but at another site whose ruins he will present.

[43] Plutarch, *Lucullus* 29.

for mints. Beside the cities of Arsamosata and Carcathiocerta which had long been of commercial importance—the latter had also been the capital of the kings of Sophene—there were unspecified forts where Tigranes kept more treasure. The latter were the subject of dispute with Pompey, who naturally wished to lay his hands on them.[44]

Far more important than these was the Mesopotamian city of Nisibis which lay about a hundred miles south of Tigranocerta on a tributary of the Euphrates. Tigranes captured this from the Parthians early in his reign and made it his major base in the frontier region, a centre of trade and yet another place where the royal treasures were deposited. The city was of such significance that the king appointed his own brother as its governor and protector. At the time of its capture by Lucullus in 68 it was a large and well populated city, with such powerful fortifications that Tigranes saw no need to send reinforcements to its defence.[45] Such a place would have been most appropriate for a mint, a supposition perhaps strengthened by finds of bronze coins which will be discussed below. It would thus appear that the northern and central parts of the kingdom may have had three major mints—Artaxata, Tigranocerta, and Nisibis—and possibly others.

Antioch, whose output seems to have been especially abundant, could have produced much of the royal coinage for the Greek parts of the empire—Syria, Phoenicia, and Cilicia—with far smaller supplies provided by Damascus. Many Greek cities seem not to have struck for Tigranes, but mints could have existed in other conquered places, as in new towns established by the king. Notable among them was the settlement of Arabs on the slope of the Amanus. The name of the site is not recorded, but its inhabitants were supposedly moved there for the needs of trade and commerce and, no doubt, to provide an economic counterweight to Seleucia and the ports which lay outside royal control.[46] There were also settlements in the interior of Syria called the 'Villages of Tigranes'.[47] If these, as seems likely, had a military as well as an economic function, they could have been bases for the large armies which Tigranes raised for his southern campaigns, and thus potential mints for supplying their needs. Such places, however, are likely to have been insignificant as mints of silver beside Antioch.

CHRONOLOGY

Dating these coins is no more straightforward than attributing them to mints, and offers similar problems. Only one series is unambiguous: those of

[44] Cities: Manandian (n. 42 above), 34f.; treasure: Dio Cassius xxxvi. 53. 1–5.

[45] For the history, see J. Sturm, 'Nisibis', in *RE* (1937), and Seyrig, 'Nisibe', 85; Lucullus: Dio Cassius xxxvi. 6.

[46] Plutarch, *Lucullus* 21, *Pompey* 39; Pliny, *NH* vi. 142.

[47] Pliny *NH* v. 81, with the emendation of W. Ruge in *RE* (1932), 1189 ('Seleucia 2'); however, Ruge seems to confuse this settlement with that of the Amanus.

Damascus are dated by the Seleucid era to 72–69 BC, evidently the years when Tigranes controlled the city. Tetradrachms and drachms of classes A and B attributed to Armenia bear letters whose only reasonable interpretation is as regnal years; they form a series from 34 to 38, corresponding to 62–58 BC, and were thus struck after the withdrawal from Syria. The rest, however, give no direct indication of date.

For the great majority the solution is straightforward: they were struck in Antioch and thus between 83 and 69 BC. For the rest, one simple fact, in my opinion, should be considered central: they bear the image of the Tyche of Antioch. Such a representation would have been inappropriate before the great conquests of Tigranes, and it nowhere appears on the coins of earlier Armenian rulers. The statue represented was so famous that it was surely taken at its face value and intended to show the pride which the Armenian ruler felt at his peaceful acquisition of the greatest city of the Greek East, as well as serving as a powerful piece of propaganda. Coins with this image may therefore be dated to the period after 83 BC.

The image evidently enjoyed great success as an imperial iconography, for it continued to be employed until the end of the reign, long after the loss of Syria. It seems to have been associated with Tigranes, however, for it does not appear on the coinage of his successors. The use of Tyche on the coins after the Armenian withdrawal from Antioch raises questions and suggests a more complex explanation. It is of course possible that the figure was retained because it had become traditional on the coinage, or because the great conquests it apparently celebrated were still central to royal ideology. It may also have had another acquired meaning. Tigranes founded a proud new capital for his empire at Tigranocerta. The grandiose plans for the city, its settlement by Greeks brought from many regions, and its royal name were typical of the acts of a Hellenistic king, and had many precedents. Most prominent among them was the foundation of Antioch for which an essential element was created, a city goddess whose cult could provide a focus for the disparate elements of the population. The Tyche so created, and represented in the famous statue first figured on these coins, was not unique. When Seleucus I founded Seleucia on the Euphrates some twenty years later, it too was endowed with a city goddess represented by a seated figure of the same kind.[48] The type became widespread, imitated in many cities of Syria and Asia Minor.[49] Most of these are attested only for the Roman period, but a Hellenistic example is of some relevance. The goddess of Samosata, the capital of Commagene, was also represented as a seated Tyche with a river-god swim-

[48] Wagner, op. cit. in n. 32, pp. 123–7.

[49] Listed in C. Bosch, *Die Kleinasiatischen Münzen der römischen Kaiserzeit*, II.1 (Stuttgart, 1935), pp. 254–7; note that most of these differ from the original in various details, most commonly in the substitution of ears of wheat for the palm in Tyche's hand, and of a throne for the rock. For these, the references which Bosch gives to *BMC* should be consulted.

ming at her feet; she appears on coins attributed to the late first century BC. The early history of the city is obscure; it is named as early as the third century BC, but may have been refounded by king Samos in the mid-second.[50] Whether this figure had its origin in his time, or was the result of later Hellenization under Antiochus I, is uncertain; it shows in any case that the Tyche of Antioch was imitated by barbarian rulers.

Tigranes, as founder of a city and empire, and as the successor of the Seleucids, would naturally have sought a proper image to symbolize his new capital. None would have been more appropriate than the Tyche of Antioch. Its image on the coins, therefore, could have served the dual purpose of proclaiming the rule of Antioch and the foundation of Tigranocerta.[51] In that case, its continued use after the loss of the former would be more appropriate, for the new capital, though never finished and devastated by the Romans, certainly continued to exist. Such a suggestion, of course, is hypothetical, and the image is best called by its original name, the Tyche of Antioch. Its simple or ambiguous identity does not affect the dating of these coins, all of which would still have been struck after 83 BC.

It is generally accepted that the royal title gives some chronological indication, and that coins inscribed 'King of Kings' were issued after the first major conquest from the Parthians around 85 BC. Tigranes thus took the imperial title from the Parthians who alone had used it, as a sign of his triumph and their humiliation. An alternative theory that the title varied according to the place where the coins were struck has also found favour, as has a combination of the two.[52] According to this, the simple title of King was used on coins struck before 85 and on those for the Greek provinces, while the full 'King of Kings' appears on Armenian issues after 85. An examination of the

[50] See most recently Sullivan, 'Commagene', 751; the coins are *BMC Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria*, Samosata, nos. 4–15.

[51] This image has often, even generally, been taken to represent the Tyche of Artaxata and the river Araxes: Seyrig, 'Nisibe', pp. 114f.; Toros, op. cit. in n. 20, with further references in Bedoukian, p. 14. According to this view, the figure was taken to represent one thing to the Greeks, another to the Armenians. This seems superfluous. There is no evidence that the interior of Armenia was sufficiently Hellenized for such imagery to have been readily comprehensible, or that Artaxata, an ancient foundation, had such a goddess. If this had been the case, the image could have appeared before or after Tigranes when Artaxata was of greater importance as the capital of a smaller kingdom. Even more curious is the generally accepted statement (Seyrig, 'Nisibe', 114f.) that the figure could not represent a Tyche of Tigranocerta because that city, unlike Artaxata, was not on a river. The location of Tigranocerta at Mayyafarqin, now Silvan, in southeastern Turkey, has long been accepted: see above, n. 42, and most recently R. Syme, 'Tigranocerta. A problem misconceived', *Armies and Frontiers in Byzantine Anatolia*, ed. S. Mitchell (= *BAR* S156) (Oxford, 1983), pp. 61–70. That site is on a stream. Even if it were not, and the location were unknown, one fact would be certain: the walls of Tigranocerta were washed by a river, as attested by Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 4. 1: 'urbem copia defensorum et magnitudine moenium validam. ad hoc Nicephorius amnis haud spernenda latitudine partem murorum ambit, et ducta ingens fossa, qua fluvio diffidebatur.' There is therefore no reason to see Artaxata or to reject Tigranocerta as the subject of this imagery.

[52] Bedoukian, p. 13, with summary of previous discussions.

question will show that the significance of the titles has been appreciated, and that only a few rectifications are in order.

The great majority of the tetradrachms, including all the issues of Antioch and Damascus, are struck in the name of 'King Tigranes', while only the rare types attributed to Armenia use the imperial title; the drachms show the opposite phenomenon, with only one of them employing the simple style. Literary sources show that the grandiloquent 'King of Kings' was regularly used and claimed by Tigranes. The Roman general Lucullus, when addressing his troops as they advanced towards Armenia, warned them of the dangers of fighting the king of kings, but when campaigning against him in 70 aroused considerable hostility by using the simple address 'king'.[53] In fact, the imperial title was literally justified, for Tigranes ruled an empire which, at its height, included the territories of numerous kings in east and west who were allowed to continue ruling as his subordinates. According to Plutarch, many kings were in attendance on Tigranes, and four of them, like bodyguards, ran beside him when he rode and sat at his side when he conducted business.[54]

The sources do not reveal the fate of the title after the Roman victories which drove Tigranes from the Greek lands, but the dated coins struck in Armenia show that he continued to employ it late in his reign. Pretention was not the only reason; the lands of dependent kings in the north and east were still in his control. Tigranes' son and successor, Artavasdes II (56–34 BC) called himself 'King of Kings', but his successors were content with the more modest style of 'Great King'. Even this gained in implausibility as the realm contracted rapidly, squeezed between the growing power of Rome and resurgent Parthia.[55]

The ancient title of King of Kings, once common to potentates of the Near East, had long been in abeyance when revived around 110 BC by the Parthian Mithradates II, who used it as his official title until the end of his reign in about 88. During this time, as appears from the sole reference to Tigranes in a Parthian document, the Parthian accorded the Armenian the title 'Great

[53] Plutarch, *Lucullus* 14, 21.

[54] Plutarch, *Lucullus* 21; for the perhaps too ingenious theory that these four kings represent a foreshadowing of later administrative practices, see C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Washington, DC, 1963), pp. 78–80, and J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des ps. Moses Xorenc'i. Abhandlungen . . . Göttingen*, NF. III. 2 (1901), pp. 173–7.

[55] A coin of Tigranes V, an insignificant ruler placed on the throne by Augustus, appears to bear the more grandiose title, an anomaly which has not attracted attention. The coin is described and illustrated as Bed 165. It is astonishing that such a ruler could claim the imperial title, but the reading on the photograph is clear, remarkably so, with every letter of the legends suspiciously well preserved for a coin whose portraits show considerable wear. In fact, inspection of the coin in the Cabinet de Médailles (my thanks to Mlle Dominique Gerin for her kind assistance) reveals a situation which might be expected: the coin has been extensively tooled, with marks especially evident around the heads and inscriptions. It seems that the whole legend, apparently once largely effaced, has been recut to read what was once expected, and that the coin is actually of the same type as Bed 166 and bore the normal legend 'Great King Tigranes *Neos*'. The imperial title may therefore be considered to have lapsed with Artavasdes II.

King'.[56] The subsequent situation is unclear. 'King of Kings' does not appear on Parthian coins again until Mithradates III (57–54 BC), after which it became part of the normal royal style.[57] This has led to the natural suggestion that the Parthians, defeated by Tigranes, recognized his claims to the title and abstained from using it. On documents, however, the title appears sporadically in the period, and one contemporary of Tigranes certainly claimed it as his right: Phraates III (*c.*70–57 BC) was offended when Pompey addressed him merely as 'king'.[58] Since this period of Parthian history is one of almost total obscurity, no clear explanation is at hand beyond the suggestion long since advanced that some pretenders to the Parthian throne, recognizing the claims of Tigranes, called themselves King or Great King, while others, hostile to him, assumed the greater title.[59]

It thus appears that Tigranes appropriated a title revived not long before his time, probably after he had conquered much of Media and Mesopotamia from the Parthians, and that most of their contemporary rulers recognized the supremacy so manifested.

King of Kings was an oriental style alien to Greek monarchs, who rarely assumed even the more modest 'Great King'. Royalty for them was sufficiently conveyed by 'King' by which they indicated themselves as successors to Alexander, and so they appear on their coins.[60] It was therefore natural for Tigranes, as successor to the Seleucids, to make use of the simpler yet more powerful title on coins struck in the Greek provinces. At the same time, issues for Armenia and other barbarian lands could use the grandiloquent

[56] E. H. Minns, 'Parchments of the Parthian period from Avroman in Kurdistan', *JHS* 35 (1915), 28; Sullivan, 'Papyri', pp. 911–14.

[57] N. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia* (Chicago, 1938), pp. 41, 48; D. Sellwood, *An Introduction to the Coinage of Parthia* (London, 1980), pp. 64f., 77–84, 122–30.

[58] Documents: Minns, op. cit. in n. 56, with tabulation, pp. 34–8; their dating has given rise to much discussion: see most recently Sullivan, 'Papyri', p. 911, with reference to earlier work. Pompey: Dio Cassius xxxvii. 6. 2.

[59] Minns, op. cit. in n. 56, p. 39. After the death of Tigranes the situation became more complicated, with the title King of Kings appropriated not only by Artavasdes of Armenia and his Parthian contemporaries, but even by their neighbour Artavasdes of Atropatene (E. S. G. Robinson, 'British Museum acquisitions for 1935–1936', *NC*[5] 17 (1937), 250–4) and the remote Pharnaces of the Bosporan Kingdom (E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge, 1913), p. 590). The former apparently used the title and modelled his coinage on that of Tigranes to proclaim himself a successor to a part of that great empire, and his kingdom did indeed achieve a position of some power and influence (Sullivan, 'Commagene', 772; id., 'Papyri', 916–18); a comparable 'diadochic' coinage (but not this title) seems to be that of Antiochus of Commagene, on whom more below. The case of Pharnaces is less clear. He used the title on the gold staters which he struck in 55–51 BC, when he ruled the Bosporus only, bringing the kingdom to its greatest extent (see E. Diehlin's article, 'Pharnakes 2', in *RE*). His brief and disastrous campaign in Asia Minor took place after these dates, so that he could hardly be claiming succession to any part of the empire of Tigranes. He was, however, the son of an equally great conqueror, Mithradates of Pontus, who himself never used the title. His restraint probably indicates acceptance of the claims of Tigranes, while Pharnaces' title was presumably meant to be taken literally, to reflect his conquest of neighbouring kingdoms.

[60] See the clear statement of E. R. Bevan, 'Antiochus III and his title "Great King"', *JHS* 22 (1902), 241–4.

'King of Kings' and continued to do so until the end of the reign. The silver coinage shows that both titles were used after 83, but, with the possible exception of the rare class B, provides no evidence that they were in contemporary use in different parts of the kingdom (the Armenian coins are much later than the Syrian), or that either of these titles was the official royal style before the acquisition of Antioch. Consideration of the bronze coins will make it possible to refine much of what has been said so far, and to gain a clearer idea of the coinage as a whole.

THE BRONZE COINAGE

The numerous specimens of the present lot represent most of the known types of Tigranes, and add a few new varieties. Taken together with the published types, they may form the basis for a new study of the minor coinage, offering information on a range of subjects: attribution of coins to this Tigranes or another; metrology; circulation; and possible mints. When combined with the silver coins, they provide a conspectus of the entire coinage. For the sake of clarity and completeness, all the types of bronzes which Tigranes struck are listed before the catalogue; types which do not appear in the present lot are enclosed in parentheses. A list of portrait types is also appended. Discussions of overstrikes and attributions follow the catalogue, which lists the coins in the present lot.

BRONZE TYPES

Early types with square legend

Obv.: Narrow head with rather simplified features and a tall spiky tiara bearing a single eight-pointed star. Most specimens are too worn to enable details to be distinguished.

Rev.: Square legend, reading clockwise, beginning at top or right: **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ**

a. Elephant l., trunk down. Bed 143: 4 examples: 20 mm, 3·2–7·1 g.

(b. Horse l., foreleg raised. Bed 144: 8 ex.: 17 mm, 2·8–4·5 g.)

(c. Nike advancing l. Bed 145: 1 ex.: 17 mm, 3 g.)

(d. Nike walking r. Bed 147: 1 ex.: 14 mm, 2·1 g.)

(e. Head of lion r. Legend in different order. Bed 146: 1 ex.: 13 mm, 2·0 g.)

Types with reverse legend **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ**

All have *obv.* bust r., wearing tiara decorated with star between two eagles. Details noted

f. *Rev.*: Tyche of Antioch, as on tetradrachms.

f1. Field letters: l.: **Δ**; r.: **H**. Bed 94: 3 ex.

f2. Field letters, r.: **Δ/H**. Bed —.

f3. Field letters: l.: Δ; r.: H. Figure of Tyche leans forward; lower drapery of simple lines parallel to thigh. Bed —.

f4. Field letters, r.: ⊤/A. Bed 91, 93, 95: 14 ex.[61]

f5. No field letters. Bed 92: 15 ex.

f6. *Obv.*: Broad face with somewhat 'oriental' features; squarish tiara with very low points.
Rev.: As above; blundered legend. Field letters, r.: T/A. See 'Attributions'. Bed 96/97: 2 ex.

(f7. As above, but crude types, and of much smaller module. Bed 98: 3 ex.: 14 mm, 2 g.)

g. *Obv.*: as type f.
Rev.: Naked Heracles standing l., holding club and lion skin. Legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ l.

g1. Field letters, Δ l., H r. Bed —.

g2. Field letters: A l., ⊤ r. Bed 99: 9 ex.

g3. Field letters ⊤ l., A r. Bed 101: 1 ex.

g4. No field letters. Bed 100: 3 ex.

g5. Different arrangement of *rev.* legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ r., ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ l.; field letters: ⊳/⊥ l., between leg and club of Heracles. Probably = Bed 102: 1 ex.

h. *Rev.*: Cornucopia with long single fillet; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ l.

h1. Upper half of cornucopia to l., letters in upper field: Δ H. Bed 105: 6 ex.

h2. Letters: Δ H in upper field, A below r. Bed —.

h3. Letters: Δ H in exergue; A above to r. Bed 106: 1 ex.

h4. Upper half of cornucopia to r.; ⊤ A in field below. Bed 104: 4 ex.[62]

i. *Rev.*: Stalk of wheat with two leaves; legend as type h.

i1. Field letter ⊤ r. of sheaf.[63] Bed —.

i2. No field letters. Bed 107: 2 ex.

i3. Different arrangement of *rev.* legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ r., ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ l.; Δ H in exergue. Bed —.

Anomalous type[64]

(j. *Obv.*: Bust r., wearing low cylindrical tiara with five points, decoration obscure; distinctive features.[65]
Rev.: King driving biga l., [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ] above; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ below. Struck on unusual squarish flan.

[61] It seems probable that the types classified as Bed 91, 93, and 95 are identical: the illustration of Bed 91 seems to show the A above the swimmer's head characteristic of Bed 93, while the monogram ⊤ could easily be misread as T on worn specimens to produce Bed 95.

[62] These field letters have not previously been read.

[63] Field letters have not previously been reported on this type. Note that the A which usually accompanied the monogram ⊤ may be missing on the present coin because the exergue is off the flan.

[64] My thanks to Drs Michael Metcalf and Daphne Nash for permitting inspection of this coin and its inclusion here.

[65] The portrait most resembles that of the anomalous silver fraction Bed 89.

Apparently unique example in Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; unpublished: 16 mm, 2·26 g. **Pl. 7**)

Types with reverse legend **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ**

k. *Obv.*: Bust with features of unusual style; five-pointed tiara, details obscure.
Rev.: Tyche, as type f. Bed 108: 2 ex.

(l–n. Damascus types: all have *obv.* bust wearing five-pointed tiara with single star and eagle.)

(l. Tyche of Damascus seated l.; various monograms. Bed 109–11: 15 ex.: 19 mm, 5·7–8·5 g.)

(m. Tyche standing l. Bed 112: 3 ex.: 3–4·6 g.)

(n. Nike advancing l. Bed 113: 1 ex.: 13 mm, 2·7 g.)

o. *Obv.*: Bust with well-executed features; 'comet' on tiara.
Rev.: Nike advancing l., holding wreath and palm, r. hand raised. Legend: **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ** on l., **ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ** on r. Rough execution and lettering.

o1. **Δ HM** in exergue. Bed 114: 19 ex.

(o2. No letters in exergue. Bed 115: 12 ex.)

(o3. *Obv.*: Bust of different style; tiara with star and two eagles.
Rev.: Letters **Δ M** in l. field. Bed 116: 5 ex.)

(o4. As previous; letters $\begin{matrix}\Delta\\ M\\ \Delta\end{matrix}$ in l. field. Bed 117: 1 ex.)

(o5. As previous; letters $\begin{matrix}H\\ M\end{matrix}$ in l. field. Bed 118: 1 ex.)

p. *Obv.*: Tiara with star and two eagles. Large **A** behind head.
Rev.: Nike with long broad wing, r. hand lowered. Varying letters in l. field. Bed 119: 3 ex.[66]

q. *Obv.*: Well-executed portrait with much variation; tiara with four points and single star surrounded by lines of ornamental dots. Large **A** behind head.
Rev.: Small, neatly designed Nike with short wing. Bed 120: 11 ex.
These are cut from smaller dies than the preceding.

r. *Obv.*: Tiara with 'comet'.
Rev.: Palm branch curving upward to l., **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ** r., **ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ** l.

r1. **ΔHM** in exergue. Bed 121: 10 ex.

r2. Straight palm branch; neater style. **ΔHMO** in exergue. Bed —.

s. *Obv.*: Tiara with 'comet'.
Rev.: Tripod-lebes surmounted by holmos from which rise three laurel twigs. **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ** r., **ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ** l.

s1. **H** in exergue, l. Bed —.

s2. No letters visible. Bed 122: 5 ex.

Anomalous types

All have bust of varying style but differing from previous, with tiara of uncertain decoration.

[66] The field letters, Bed 119, are described as 'uncertain'.

(t. Elephant r., with trunk down; T to r. of head; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ below. Bed 123: 1 ex.: 17 mm, 6 g.)

(u. *Obv.*: A (?) behind head.
Rev.: Elephant l., with trunk raised; uncertain field letters. Legend as previous. Bed 124: 1 ex.: 14 mm, 7 g.)

v. *Obv.*: Curved ribbon projecting behind tiara.
Rev.: Horse in high relief, legend illegible. See 'Attributions'.

(w. *Obv.*: Tiara with four points.
Rev.: Nike with arms raised; legend uncertain. Bed 125: 3 ex.: 8 mm, 0·9–1·0 g.)

Portrait Types

The bronze coinage, like the silver, exhibits a variety of portraits, which may be grouped into six main classes, as follow:

α. Narrow head, tall thin tiara; details obscure: this occurs only on the early types with square legend.

β. Narrow head with well proportioned features and tall sloping tiara which follows the line of the brow; some have a broader head and more pronounced features, with a cylindrical tiara which pierces the border of dots. This is the most common portrait.

γ. Long narrow face; narrow flaps of tiara split very high.

δ. Fleshy, 'oriental' features with pronounced jaw and slanting eyebrow; low cylindrical tiara.

ε. Face with broad forehead, small nose and receding chin; broad tiara.

ζ. Generally well-proportioned features, often rather broad. Many variations in tiara, as noted.

Of these, α, γ, and some of the minor varieties have no clear analogues, but most show varying degrees of similarity to the silver coinage. Portrait β strongly resembles that of tetradrachm classes B and E; portrait γ is quite similar to that of C and ζ is virtually identical with D. The decorated tiara associated with some varieties of ζ (bronze type q) does not appear on the silver coins.

CATALOGUE

(Varieties marked with an asterisk are illustrated on **Pl. 6–7**)

	Type	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Axis[67]	Portrait	Remarks
(Early types)						
*1	a	20	6·0		α	See 'Attributions'
(Tyche types)						
2	f1	19	7·02		β	
3	f1	17	6·41		β	Overstruck on small thick flan
*4	f2	20	7·97		β	Tinned; of silvery appearance
5	f3	19	5·78		β	*Obv.* die = 46 and 47; *rev.* die = 6[68]

[67] The axis is indicated only where the reverse die deviates from the normal vertical orientation.

[68] These two coins of the Tyche type are linked by identity of dies to coins of the Heracles type, with which they share the field letters ΔΗΜ, and the same die orientation. The obverse dies of 5 and 6 may, in fact, be identical, but their worn condition precludes certainty.

	Type	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Axis	Portrait	Remarks
(Tyche types) *cont.*:						
6	f3	17	5·29		β	*Obv.* die = 45; *rev.* die = 5
7	f3	18	4·88		β	Apparently same dies as 5 and 6, details obscured by poor condition
8	f4	20	7·09		β	
*9	f4	20	6·30		β	
10	f4	18	8·39		β	Overstruck on small thick flan
11	f5	22	7·95		β	
12	f5	20	7·92		β	
13	f5	20	7·58		β	*Obv.* die identical style to 25
14	f5	20	6·56		β	*Obv.* die identical style to 15
15	f5	19	7·51		β	See 14
16	f5	18	6·27	↖	β	
17	f5	18	4·40		γ	Small dies
*18	f5	16	5·66		γ	Small dies
No letters visible in field: overstrikes. See following discussion.						
19	f	22	6·82		β	Struck on Aradus, Astarte type, *BMC* 325/40
*20	f	22	6·63		—	— Astarte/Bull, date illegible
*21	f	22	6·50		β	— —, yr. **ΡΟΕ** (85/4 BC)
22	f	22	6·35		β	Uncertain undertype
*23	f	22	5·32		—	Struck on Aradus, as above; date illegible
24	f	21	5·78		β	Struck on turreted Tyche/*rev.* unclear
25	f	21	4·45		β	Struck on turreted Tyche/*rev.* unclear
26	f	20	7·17		β	Uncertain undertype
27	f	20	5·97		β	Uncertain undertype
28	f	19	6·93		β	Small thick flan
29	f	19	5·24		β	Bevelled flan
*30	f	17	7·95		β	Small thick flan
Details missing						
31	f	21	7·28		β	
32	f	21	6·38		β	
33	f	20	6·29		β	
34	f	19	4·53		—	
35	f	18	5·43		β	
36	f6	18	4·53		δ	
37	f6	18	4·22		δ	Same dies as 36
*38	f6	17	4·68		δ	Same dies as 36
39	f6	17	4·58		δ	Same dies as 36
40	f6	17	3·63		δ	Same dies as 36; *obv.* obscure
41	f6	17	3·12		δ	Same dies as 36; *obv.* obscure
42	f	19	6·78		—	Crude lettering, uncertain letter in r. field
*43	f	18	5·31		—	Very crude types; legend illegible
44	f	17	3·33		—	Crude types; legend illegible
(Heracles types)						
45	g1	16	4·47	↗	β	*Obv.* die = 6 (see n. 68)
46	g1	16	4·25	↗	β	*Obv.* die = 5
*47	g1	16	4·23	↗	β	Same dies as 46
48	g2	16	3·03	↗	β	
49	g3	18	4·70		β	In British Museum
50	g3	17	4·49	↗	β	*Obv.* die = 49

	Type	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Axis	Portrait	Remarks
(Heracles types) *cont.*:						
51	g3	17	4·21	↗	β	
52	g3	16	4·28	↗	β	
53	g4	16	4·18		β	
54	g4	15	4·01		β	
55	g4	15	2·84	↖	β	Small, but die suitable for larger flan
56	g4	20	5·51		β	Large die; overstruck on bevelled flan
*57	g4	20	4·35		β	Large die; overstruck, undertype uncertain
58	g	13	3·91		—	Overstruck on small thick flan; details missing
*59	g5	15	3·36		β	
(Cornucopia types)						
60	h1	13	2·65		β	
61	h1	13	2·43		β	In British Museum
62	h1	13	2·38		β	
*63	h2	15	1·93		β	
64	h3	14	2·94		β	Letters indistinct
*65	h3	13	2·68	↗	β	
66	h3	13	1·91		β	Letters indistinct
*67	h4	14	3·39		β	
68	h4	13	1·98		—	Letters indistinct
69	h4	11	1·78		β	Small dies
(Wheat types)						
*70	i1	12	1·50		β	
71	i2	16	2·57		β	Large dies; in British Museum
72	i2	11	1·34		β	In British Museum
73	i3	11	1·57		β	
(Tyche type; royal legend)						
*74	k	20	5·43		ϵ	
(Nike types)						
75	o1	20	6·33	↗	ζ	
*76	o1	20	6·17		ζ	Distinctive portrait
77	o1	19	5·75		ζ	Crudely executed portrait; tiara with four points
78	o1	17	5·28	↗	ζ	
*79	o1	17	5·14	↗	ζ	
*80	p	18	6·08		ζ	Field letters obscure, apparently ·Λ
81	p	17	4·60		ζ	ΛΓ in l. field. In British Museum
82	p	16	4·59	↖	ζ	*Obv.* and *rev.* of different, rougher style; letters, if present, off flan
83	p	16	5·77		ζ	Details obscure
84	q	15	3·87		ζ	
85	q	15	3·59		ζ	
86	q	15	2·96		ζ	
87	q	15	2·94		ζ	
*88	q	14	3·52		ζ	
*89	q	16	5·34		ζ	*Obv.* counterstamped with Y over A
90	q	17	7·09		ζ	*Obv.* double-struck; A not visible. Overstruck on small thick flan

	Type	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Axis	Portrait	Remarks
(Palm-branch type)						
91	r1	18	6·98	↗	—	Anomalous type[69]
92	r1	18	4·53		ζ	
93	r1	18	4·07		ζ	In British Museum
94	r1	18	3·49		ζ	
95	r1	16	4·47		ζ	
*96	r1	15	3·40		ζ	Same dies as 93
*97	r2	17	4·33		ζ	
98	r2	15	3·84		ζ	Same dies as 97; *obv.* die = Bed 121 illustration
(Tripod type)						
99	s1	14	3·88		ζ	
*100	s1	13	2·05		ζ	Same dies as 99; *obv.* die = Bed 122 illustration
*101	s2	16	4·66		ζ	
102	s2	15	4·08		ζ	
103	s2	14	2·73		ζ	In British Museum
104	s2	13	2·89		ζ	Same *obv.* die as 103
(Horse type)						
*105	v	12	1·78		—	In British Museum; unpublished

Tigranes the Younger(?)

Obv.: Head r., with narrow face, youthful features, tiara of uncertain shape with long flap separated at the rock.
Rev.: Nike with long wing advancing r., r. hand slightly lowered. Legend: **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ** r., **ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ** l.

*106		16	5·16	↖	—	See 'Attributions'

Parthia: Mithradates II (123–88 BC)

Obv.: Bust l. with long beard.
Rev.: Nike advancing r. Most of legend off flan. Sellwood 28/9.

107		17	2·56		—	

OVERSTRIKES AND COUNTERMARKS

Bronzes of Tigranes are frequently overstruck on Phoenician coins, particularly those of Aradus. The present group includes four (nos. 19–21, 23) whose undertype shows a veiled bust of Astarte on the obverse, and a charging bull on the reverse, a type issued at Aradus *c.*94–75 BC. One of these (no. 21) has a legible date, 85/4. Other examples of Aradian types have been noted, though not published in detail.[70] Coins of other Phoenician cities were overstruck less frequently: the ANS collection includes a Tyche coin struck on a bronze of Tripolis of a type recorded only for 104/3 BC, while another in

[69] This coin seems not to fit in the regular series of Tigranes bronzes. Its weight and die axes do not correspond with others; the palm branch bends to the right rather than to the left; the legend is blundered; and it has no letters in the exergue. The coin is certainly an imitation, possibly (if it is correctly reported as part of the same find) a local issue or an ancient counterfeit.

[70] Three of those classed as Bed 92 are overstruck, apparently on Aradus: Bedoukian, p. 19.

Paris was struck over a coin of Marathus dated 117/16 at the earliest.[71] Two of the present group (nos. 24 and 25) had a turreted head of Tyche on the obverse, a type common to many cities of Syria and Phoenicia; other undertypes are unidentifiable (nos. 26–30). Syrian coins were also put to use: nos. 29 and 56 have the bevelled flan often found on Seleucid bronzes; since this rarely occurs on bronzes of Tigranes, it may in each case be taken to indicate overstriking. Similarly, the thick dumpy flan of no. 30 and several others is not typical of Armenian coinage, and may be considered as evidence of overstriking, probably on Seleucid issues.

Most of the overstrikings employ the Tyche type without field letters, but the present group includes two with the letters **ΔH/A** and ⊤ (nos. 3, 10, both with unidentifiable undertypes) and others with ⊤ are recorded under Bed 91. Other types were less frequently struck on reused flans. This lot includes only three with the Heracles reverse (nos. 56–8, the first two without field letters, the other uncertain) and one with Nike (no. 90). The excavations of Dura-Europus uncovered one Nike coin of the same style as no. 75 overstruck on a bronze of Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII (125–120 BC), a phenomenon taken to indicate that those coins long remained in circulation.[72] More remarkable are the coins of Artavasdes II overstruck on pieces of Aradus (Bed 132, 134) or another Phoenician city (Bed 134); in fact, much of his coinage appears to be overstruck.[73] These will be considered below.

This extensive overstriking by Tigranes should reflect historical circumstances and be associated with his activities in Phoenicia. At first sight, the large number of coins of Aradus might seem to indicate Armenian conquest of that city, one of the most important commercial centres of the region. There is good numismatic evidence, however, to show that Aradus retained its independence throughout the period. Its autonomous dated tetradrachms form a virtually complete series through the reign of Tigranes, with only the occasional short gaps which are more likely to result from the accidents of preservation than from any change in the political situation.[74] Its extensive bronze coinage, on the other hand, is less continuous, with a long gap between 75 and 46; it is this series which Tigranes frequently overstruck. If he did not take the city, the king probably gained control of the extensive territory on the mainland which the island city state ruled from the third century until the Roman conquest.[75] As already noted, Tigranes conquered

[71] ANS: Undertype of *BMC* 14 (pl. xxvi, 8), weight 4·62 g, apparently included in Bed 92. Paris: Le Rider (1959), 24f., no. 30, type of *BMC* pl. XV, 16–17; part of the date may be missing. Included in Bed 92.

[72] A. R. Bellinger, *Dura Final Report VI. The Coins* (New Haven, 1949), no. 112a.

[73] Three of the four coins illustrated as Bed 132, 134, and 135 are overstruck, and two of the four listed as Bed 134 are so described.

[74] *BMC Phoenicia* lists coins of every year between 100 and 60 BC except 74, 70, and 69.

[75] For this territory, see J.-R. Rey-Coquais, *Arados et sa Pérée* (Paris, 1974), pp. 91–141; virtually nothing is known of the history of Aradus during this period.

most of Phoenicia and had advanced as far as Ake-Ptolemais (now Acre in Israel) by 69.

During these campaigns the Armenian forces probably acquired large quantities of Phoenician coin as loot from the mainland, where Aradian coinage would have circulated widely. Overstriking of these probably reflects the needs of the vast armies involved, (over)estimated by one source at 300,000 men.[76] Whether the coins so acquired would have formed part of one great lot or represent continuous acquisitions cannot be determined. The range of age and condition indicate in any case that a mint with its current output did not fall into the hands of Tigranes. The overstruck pieces may be considered as evidence for the coinage in circulation at the time of the Armenian conquest: it appears to have included many coins of Aradus, and fewer of other cities, those perhaps somewhat older. Numerous Seleucid coins were also available. The possible location of the mint or mints where the overstriking was done will be considered below.

Counterstamps, which represent a phenomenon allied to overstriking, are less well represented and more enigmatic. The present group contains only one, a trefoil design on the obverse of no. 89, of the Nike type. Published coins include several others: **A** or **N** on Tyche coins, **И** on Heracles and Nike, and ⊠ on Nike (Bed 92, 99, 116, 119). On the Nike coins, the countermark occupies the obverse left field in two cases, as if to obliterate the **A** which appears there. The significance of these marks is unknown; speculation seems unjustified since the coins have not been illustrated nor their provenance noted.[77]

ATTRIBUTIONS

EARLY COINAGE WITH SQUARE LEGEND AND RELATED TYPES (Types a–e)

These coins have received a variety of attributions: to an 'unknown king', to Tigranes striking in Atropatene, and to Tigranes III.[78] The latter may be rejected on grounds of style and titulature. Tigranes III (if his coins are correctly attributed) appears with a short beard and a portrait quite different from these: his coins never bear a square legend even when the inscription is in four lines; and he is usually called **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ**, with the addition of **ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ** on the solitary drachm. His coins have virtually nothing in common with the present group.

[76] Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xiii. 4. 19; the figure need be taken only as giving an order of magnitude.

[77] There seems no reason to accept the suggestion of Y. Nercessian ('In search of an Armenian monogram', *Arm. Num. J.* 3 (1977), 29–31) that **И** represents the mint of Nisibis, for none of the coins found there exhibits it.

[78] Unknown king: Seyrig, 'Nisibe', 118, who also raises the possibility of issue by a Mesopotamian mint for Tigranes; Atropatene: Le Rider (1959), 25f.; Tigranes III: Bedoukian, pp. 31–3, with speculations on a Parthian alliance reflected in this coinage.

The most striking aspect of these coins, as has long been noted, is their Parthian character. The legend arranged in a square is typically Parthian, and all the types find parallels in Parthian bronzes struck by Mithradates II (123–88 BC) and his successors until Mithradates III (57–54 BC): the horse and Nike are extremely common, three kings of the first century portray the elephant, and Mithradates II has a type with a lion's head.[79] The conclusion that these coins are influenced by Parthian practice and are contemporary with Tigranes seems inescapable.

This Parthian character has led to the suggestion that the coins were struck by Tigranes in Atropatene, usually part of Parthia, whose own somewhat later coins display similar characteristics. Atropatene was indeed subjected to Tigranes, but it retained at least nominal independence under its own kings, among whom Mithradates and Darius are mentioned as fighting with Tigranes respectively against Lucullus and Pompey.[80] Coins of that kingdom, therefore, would be expected to bear the head of the local ruler.

These coins had been assigned to Tigranes on the basis of the title *Theos*, 'God'. This points inevitably to him for, according to the Epitome of Justin, one of the successors of Artabanus the Parthian was *Tigranes cognomine Deus* who took away Media and Mesopotamia.[81] The text may be corrupt, and has been the subject of much discussion, but there is no reason to doubt that this account assigns the title 'God' to Tigranes of Armenia. The issue, therefore, is his.

History provides a clue for the date and style of the coins. As a young man Tigranes spent many years as a hostage among the Parthians, and when he finally came to the throne, it was through their help. Some years later, he turned against his former protectors and took much territory from them. It seems probable, therefore, that these coins represent an early issue of Tigranes, reflecting the Parthian influence which would have then predominated. The titles are probably those used in the first part of his reign, before the great conquests. These coins, then, may be considered the only numismatic record of those years; the great mass of the coinage comes from a much later period.

The title itself is not so unusual or outlandish as it might appear, having long since been assumed by Antiochus II and other Hellenistic monarchs. In this period two sovereigns, Antiochus of Commagene and Phraates III of Parthia, called themselves *Theos*. Since both may in a sense be regarded as successors to Tigranes, their assumption of the title may have been a

[79] D. Sellwood, op. cit. in n. 57, pp. 63–130 *passim*.

[80] Dio Cassius xxxvi. 14. 1, Appian, *Mithradates* 106; see Sullivan, 'Commagene', 732, and 'Papyri', 916ff.

[81] Justin, *Prologi* 42. 7; the problems of the text are discussed by J. Wolski, 'Arsace II et le généalogie des premiers arsacides', *Historia* 11 (1962), 138–45.

deliberate statement of their claim to his heritage and thus a further confirmation of his use of it.[82]

'TIGRANES I'

A related series (none of them in the present lot) has also been attributed to Tigranes, on grounds which seem inadequate. The coins in question (Bed 3–6) are peculiar in several respects. They have a head facing left, typical of Parthia but otherwise unknown among the Artaxiad issues; the king wears an unusual tiara; and the portrait is in a peculiar flat and simplified style. The reverse bears the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΕΛΗΝΟΣ upright or in a square, and types of a tree, Zeus Nicephorus, the king standing and Nike. Some have the letters IS, Λ, or MA in the field. Almost all are crudely executed and badly preserved. A majority of the known specimens came from one hoard, of 624 identifiable coins, found at Nisibis.[83] Most of the coins were of the Seleucids or Antioch; the hoard contained no other Armenian issues. The earliest were of the second century, the latest about 30 BC. These coins have been assigned to 'Tigranes I' or considered as provincial issues of Tigranes the Great.[84] Neither seems satisfactory, but the alternative solution offered here is still tentative.

Attribution to 'Tigranes I' is to be rejected on grounds of history and style. Most seriously, there is no evidence that 'Tigranes I' was ever king of Armenia or that he was predecessor of Tigranes the Great. Appian, indeed, refers to the latter as 'Tigranes son of Tigranes', but makes no statement about the father, while the epitome of Justin suggests that Artavasdes was the predecessor of Tigranes; Mithradates of Parthia fought against him and was apparently responsible for putting Tigranes on the throne.[85] Attribution of coins to this hypothetical ruler would seem unjustified. The style, in any case, is inappropriate to the second century BC. The portrait is very flat and stylized, with a tall cylindrical head and simplified features. It finds its closest parallel in the issues of Artavasdes II and in the rather abstract portraiture of Parthian coins of the first century AD; assignment to a period before Tigranes seems excluded.

Attribution to Tigranes the Great encounters equal difficulty in that these coins have virtually nothing in common with his. The differences concern the portrait, tiara, reverse types and royal titles. The portrait is completely unlike any of Tigranes. It consists of a head, not the bust of his normal coinage, executed in an unparalleled style. The tiara, too, resembles none of Tigranes:

[82] For the 'diadochi' of Tigranes, see Sullivan (op. cit. in n. 31 above); cf. 'Commagene', 760f.; 'Papyri', 916ff.

[83] Published, with commentary, by Seyrig, 'Nisibe'.

[84] Tigranes I: Bedoukian, pp. 9–12; provincial: Seyrig, 'Nisibe', 116f.; cf. Sullivan, op. cit. in n. 31 above.

[85] Appian, *Syr.* 48; Justin 38. 3. 1, 42. 2. 6.

instead of the usual double flap reaching to the shoulders, it seems to have only a single short flap which covers the ear and extends only slightly below it. The tiara, whose decoration is unclear, is adorned with a simple diadem of a double row of pearls with long streamers trailing stiffly behind the head; this, too, does not appear on the coinage of Tigranes. The reverse types are unusual, finding their closest analogy in Parthian coins or the pieces considered above. The square legend of the Zeus type is characteristic of both the types considered above as early issues of Tigranes.

The field letters, on the other hand, pose a problem whose resolution is not obvious. They have been considered as numbers and taken to represent the regnal years 16, 30, and 41.[86] In that case, the coins necessarily belong to Tigranes the Great, for he alone reigned forty years. Yet it seems highly improbable that such a unified group of rare coins should have been struck for a quarter century without showing more variety or being found elsewhere. Detailed reporting of provenances might help to resolve the question; for the moment it seems best to regard the field letters as something other than regnal years, even though no better suggestion is at hand.

The royal title here employed is of special significance, the king appearing as Great and Philhellene. These appellations are absent from the normal coins of Tigranes, but resemble those of his early issues, or of his grandson Tigranes III. All these factors suggest that Tigranes the Great did not issue these coins.

It might seem simplest to assign these coins to Tigranes III (20–8 BC), who is designated **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ** on his unique drachm (Bed 137). The title, however, appears on none of his bronze coins, which differ quite radically from the present group. The objections advanced against attribution to Tigranes the Great would apply here. Furthermore the circumstances apparently preclude such a late date. The latest coins of the hoard are of about 30 BC, the apparent date of burial. Considering their worn condition, the present pieces, if of Tigranes III, could hardly have been buried before the beginning of the Christian era. Tigranes III thus seems also to be excluded.

In theory the coins could belong to an otherwise unknown king named Tigranes who might have ruled, say, in one of the interregnums during the reign of Artaxias II (30–20 BC). In that case further discussion would be fruitless. Some features, however, allow another attribution to be suggested.

The most striking characteristic of these bronzes is their Parthian character: the left-facing head, the diadem with streamers, and the variety of reverse types—features common to the entire group—and the square legend of one, are all typical of Parthian rather than Armenian coins. The stylistic

[86] Seyrig, 'Nisibe', 113–15; Bedoukian, p. 10, objects, but offers no alternative explanation. Note that the letter ϟ of Bed 3 can only be a number; the rest could well be monograms.

resemblance to the bronzes of Artavasdes II points to a date in the generation after Tigranes. There was in fact a ruler named Tigranes at that time who had strong connections with Parthia, but no coins have yet been attributed to him.[87]

Tigranes had several sons. He killed the first two, whose names are unknown, when they attempted to usurp his power. The third, named Tigranes, was more fortunate, and was crowned by his father as a joint or subordinate ruler. He occupied this position for a short time before revolting in his turn. Defeated by his father, he fled to Phraates III of Parthia, who sent a force to help him regain power, apparently not long before 66. Once again defeated, the young Tigranes took refuge with Pompey, and was granted rule over Sophene as part of the general settlement of the Armenian situation. The prince had brief success there, however, for he soon fell foul of Pompey over possession of the royal treasures secreted in his realm, and was placed in chains and led captive to Rome, where he adorned the general's triumph.[88]

This younger Tigranes had royal power on two occasions—as co-regent with his father before 66 and as ruler of Sophene in 66—and no doubt claimed it on a third, when he marched against his father with the help of the Parthians. In theory he might have struck coins on any of these occasions. It is therefore tempting to see the present issue, associated with Parthia and the mid-first century BC, as his, possibly of the time when he was under Parthian protection. Such an hypothesis would explain many of the anomalies of the type, and suit both the royal title and the find spot. 'Philhellene' was a regular attribute of Parthian kings from the time of Mithradates I (*c.*171–138 BC); its use by a dependent, especially one who could claim to rule over Greek cities, need not be surprising. Likewise a provenance relatively near the Parthian frontier would be appropriate for the circumstances of Tigranes' revolt. Such an attribution is far from certain; only publication of coins from known and preferably dated contexts will resolve the question.

Although these coins need no longer be given to 'Tigranes I', one other type has been attributed to him and not subsequently discussed. This has a bust with a long beard facing right, and a Tyche seated left on the reverse, with the legend **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ**. It has been assigned to 'Tigrane l'ancien' on the grounds of the archaic simplicity of the legend, and the bevelled flan typical of Seleucid issues of the second century BC.[89] This is rather to be considered an issue of Tigranes IV, whose distinctive long-bearded portrait plainly appears here. The so-called simplicity of the legend could be explained by the absence of some of it from this badly-preserved specimen, while the bevelled flan could be the result of overstriking.

[87] Le Rider (1959), 29f., had suggested him as a possible issuer of a type now attributed to Tigranes III: Bed 141.

[88] Appian, *Mith.* 104, Dio Cassius xxxvi. 50–3; see also F. Geyer, 'Tigranes 2', *RE* (1937).

[89] Seyrig, 'Nisibe', 112; the coin seems absent from Bedoukian.

COINS WITH BLUNDERED LEGEND (nos. 36–41; Type f6)

This small group of anomalous coins is united by die-links: all share the same reverse die and most, if not all, are from the same obverse; the specimens illustrated as Bed 96 and Bed 97 are from the same reverse die as these.[90] The legends are always incomplete; by combining all specimens, it is possible to derive the following: □Σ⊥VIT ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ □ΤΑИΟV. This was evidently inscribed by someone ignorant of Greek in imitation of the Tyche type with field letters ⊤A. Frequency of die-links suggests that the issue was extremely small, but it appears to be authentic. Coins in the present lot had the characteristic hard yellowish-green patina of the rest. They would appear to be local issues of the time of Tigranes, but whether of a place under his authority or from one where his coinage was considered worth imitating cannot be determined. Their presence in this lot suggests that they were produced somewhere in Syria or Phoenicia, presumably in a region remote from the influence of Greek culture.

NEW TYPES: j, v, no. 106

Two types, j and v, are published here for the first time; both appear to be issues of Tigranes the Great. The first, a unique specimen in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (**Pl. 7, j**), bears a type, the king driving a biga, which appears on the drachm of Artavasdes II and on bronzes of Tigranes III (Bed 130, 141) but not on earlier pieces. The portrait is unlike most of those of Tigranes, showing a large nose and projecting jaw, with an odd low cylindrical tiara. Attribution is assured, however, by the imperial title King of Kings borne by no other Tigranes. The portrait, in fact, finds a close analogy in the rare fractional silver coins, Bed 89 and 90. The former, like 'j', uses the imperial title, while Bed 90 may show the reverse type of a biga.

Type v offers a greater problem since its legend is illegible. Its portrait, however, greatly resembles that of Tigranes, of the style here called β; it differs only in the curving streamers of the diadem, and those find a parallel in the tetradrachms of class F4. Details of the tiara are missing. The reverse type of a horse appears only among the early issues of Tigranes, but in a somewhat different form: here, it faces right and is in high relief. Stylistically, it seems closest to the fractional silver coin Bed 90. The portrait, in any case, affords sufficient grounds for attribution.

Coin no. 106 is here assigned to Tigranes the Younger, a suggestion I make on the basis of the portrait. The coin shows a head, not a bust, facing right, with features unlike those of Tigranes, but resembling a young man. Stylistically it has some resemblance to coins of Artavasdes II. Decoration of the

[90] In fact, the same coin appears to be illustrated twice. In that case, Bed 97 should disappear, along with its readings.

tiara is obscure, but its flaps are distinctly short. The reverse, however, is identical with those of Tigranes, showing the rather fine image of Nike which appears on the variety with A behind the bust. This similarity suggests an issue contemporary with Tigranes the Great. The portrait, on the other hand, differs considerably from his, and seems to represent a younger man with the same name; attribution to Tigranes the Younger thus seems indicated. The coin was probably struck during his co-regency with his father, since it occurs in the present lot, which should reflect the years prior to Armenian withdrawal from Syria.

A FALSE ATTRIBUTION

Finally three types, Bed 126–8, have been omitted here as not belonging to Tigranes at all. The first two bear the image and superscription of Antiochus Theos of Commage and are to be included in his coinage without the slightest hesitation. They had been aberrantly attributed to Tigranes on the grounds that the portrait shows a typical Armenian tiara and that this represented the image of a sovereign, Tigranes, placed on coins by his subordinate, Antiochus. Description of the tiara is not in dispute, but the conclusion drawn from it is false, for the simple reason that the kings of Commagene wore a similar tiara, virtually indistinguishable from the Armenian. This is supported by the incontrovertible evidence of contemporary sculpture.[91] Furthermore the portrait of these coins, with its straight nose and large fishy eye, differs considerably from those of Tigranes, except for the tetradrachms of class L, discussed above. The Antiochus coins also differ materially: they are usually struck on cast flans, some of which preserve a small flange where they were joined to the next blank. This feature does not occur on the coins of Tigranes. They may therefore be returned to Antiochus of Commagene.

METROLOGY AND DENOMINATIONS

Since the present find represents the largest group of Armenian bronzes so far studied (if not discovered), it should present sufficient material to enable the system of coinage to be better understood. The following discussion will be based both on the present coins and on those of similar types which have been published in the comprehensive study of Bedoukian, and will attempt to

[91] See the discussion of Bedoukian, p. 24, an attempt to refute the convincing, if not very coherent, arguments of Sullivan who showed conclusively that the coins belong to Antiochus. The arguments of Bedoukian are completely vitiated by the well-known appearance of the tiara on sculptural representations of Antiochus from Nemrud Dagh, Arsamea, and Seleucia on the Euphrates: see F. Dorner and T. Goell, *Arsameia am Nymphaios* (Berlin, 1963), pp. 215f., 219, with further references, and Wagner, op. cit. in n. 32 above, pp. 117–23; cf. J. Young, 'Commagenian tiaras: royal and divine', *AJA* 68 (1964), 29–34.

determine the relation between the different types and the denominations which they may represent.

In a fundamental study of the Seleucid coinage, E. T. Newell found that the bronzes—struck a century or more before the present coins—fell into a regular pattern of denominations in which each weighed twice as much as the next following.[92] The conclusion was based on issues of Antiochus IV (175–164 BC) which bore the letters **ΔX**, **BX**, and **AX**, standing respectively for four, two, and one chalci; the coins weighed on average about 16, 8, and 4 grams, with wide variations for individual pieces.[93] When these results were applied to the coinage as a whole, a regular sequence from an 'octuple' to a 'quarter' emerged; the smallest could be called—somewhat theoretically since no text names the coins—a 'lepton', and the intermediate a 'chalcus'. Newell further determined that weight rather than size was the major criterion for identifying the denomination. Types were apparently not significant, since in many cases coins of widely varying sizes and weights bore the same images. Whether such a system still existed to be followed in the time of Tigranes remains to be determined; this discussion will consider the available evidence.

In such a large and complex coinage as the Armenian bronzes, three factors might reasonably be expected to distinguish coins of different values: type, size, and weight.[94] Although the first two might be of little significance for the earlier Hellenistic coinages, their role may be considered here. The coins in question show great variety of all three factors. It is apparent, however, from the graph (Table 1) that the most common types, which have Tyche (f), Nike (o, p, q), Heracles (g), or a cornucopia (h) on the reverse, show a rough correlation of type and weight. This suggests that the two may be of equal significance, but Table 2 shows that the correlation is complex and that there is no obviously neat pattern of denominations.[95] Some types seem to stretch over a wide range of weights, while others are quite concentrated. Before any system of denominations may be derived, therefore, it is necessary to determine the probable fluctuations of size or weight which any of them might allow: specifically, do such types as Tyche and Nike represent one or several denominations?

In the early Hellenistic coins studied by Newell (included in Table 2), the variations in weight within a denomination can be extreme, with the heaviest being almost twice the weight of the lightest. By that standard most of the

[92] E. T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints* (New York, 1938), pp. 270–4, with further references, p. 271 n. 5. For denomination marks on a wider range of Seleucid coinage, see G. le Rider, *Suse sous les Seleucides et les Parthes* (Paris, 1965), pp. 140f., 144, 338f., 340f.; this study is especially valuable for later issues. [93] The figures are included in Table 2.

[94] In only one case, no. 26, might the metal, or its appearance, have been a factor: see below.

[95] Note that many of the specimens are worn, and that the average weights should actually be somewhat higher than those given. There seems no way to allow for the factor of wear (which affects most of these coins equally) and to determine the theoretical weight of each type.

present types could be accepted as each representing a denomination. In the present case more specific information is available from the study of coins struck by the same die, for it would be reasonable to suppose that one pair of dies was used to strike only one denomination. Otherwise, the possibilities of confusion over the value of virtually identical coins would be extreme.

The largest group of die-linked coins consists of the curious Tyche type (f6) with blundered legend (nos. 36–41). The eight known examples seem to share at least one die. Their weights are unevenly distributed between 3·1 and 5·2 g; the lightest thus weighs about 60 per cent of the heaviest. These form a compact group, but appear to belong to an irregular issue, perhaps not typical of the series as a whole. Among the regular issues, one group of Tyche and Heracles coins is linked by common obverse or reverse dies. In these (nos. 5–7, and 45–7) the minimum weight, 4·2 g, is slightly more than 70 per cent of the maximum 5·8 g. Since the weights are regularly distributed around the median, the extremes may be considered as normal variations on a standard. Other examples involve only pairs of coins, of the Palm-branch (r) and Tripod (s) types. In these the variation in weight is as little as 5 per cent, usually ranges around 20 per cent, but in one case, nos. 99 and 100, the lighter is hardly more than half the weight of its die-mate. It would appear from these examples, then, that no great consistency was sought in the weights of the flans chosen for striking a particular type, but that the kind of variations found in the coins of Antiochus IV might be expected here.

Size seems also to have been a factor in identifying a denomination, and perhaps an obvious one, since variations in size are as easily seen and felt as those in weight. In the case of the die-linked coins, the diameter of the flans varies only by a millimetre, except in nos. 97 and 98, where it is 2 mm. In this respect, type f6 with blundered legend is particularly notable, since all are of 17 or 18 mm diameter. It would thus appear that only relatively small variations in size were tolerated in the issues which are probably the product of one workshop or mint.

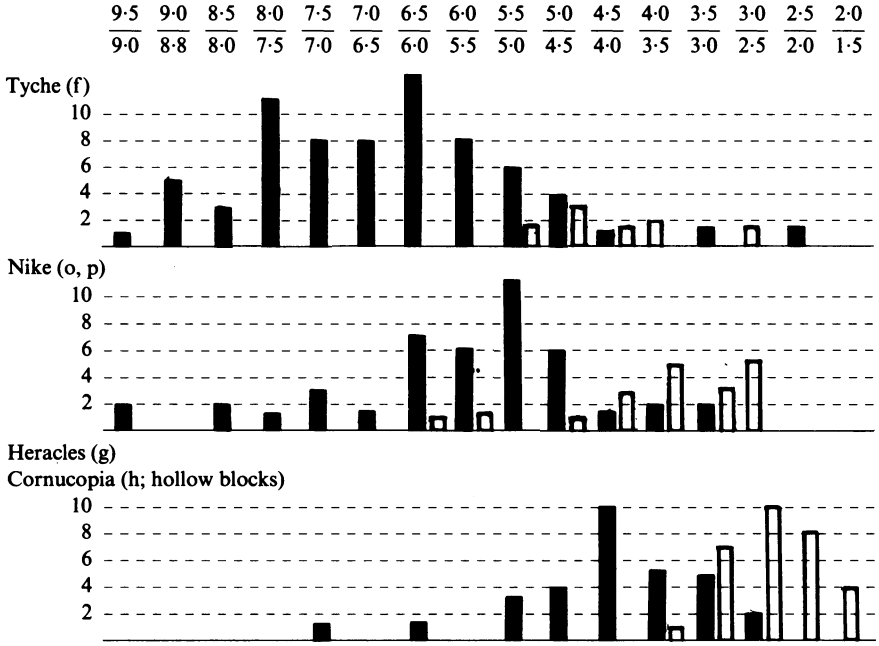
The general correlation of type and weight observable in Tables 1 and 2 leaves little doubt that the image on the coins was one of the indications of its value. Specific confirmation is provided by the one group of Tigranes bronzes known to have been struck at the same mint, the three types of the Damascus coins. In these, the differing images of standing, seated and advancing Tyche correspond to significant variations in weight to produce three denominations of about 7, 4, and 2·7(?) g respectively. Examples of the second and third types are too few to determine the intended weight with any accuracy, but a neat sequence of denominations separated by a factor of two seems excluded.

More problematical is the curious case of the coins of two different types, Tyche and Heracles, linked by identity of dies. Although small, the group offers distinctive peculiarities: the three Heracles coins (nos. 45–7) are of the

TABLE 1

Weights

Horizontal scale shows weight in grams; vertical, type and number of specimens
Cornucopia, Tyche type f6, and Nike type q are indicated by hollow blocks



same diameter, 16 mm, and weight, 4·2–4·5 g, while the three Tyche pieces (nos. 5–7) are all struck on somewhat larger flans, 17–19 mm, and are heavier, ranging from 4·9 to 5·8 g. If such a small sample supports a conclusion, it would appear that the Tyche coins were differentiated from the Heracles by size and weight. Although the whole group falls within the acceptable range, it suggests that image, size, and weight were all factors in identifying a denomination.

Patterns of distribution of weights, as well as the range observed within a type, suggest that the Heracles (g), Cornucopia (h), and Tripod (s) types each represent a denomination. The rest, where the range within a type seems excessive, or where dies of notably different size were used, need to be examined more closely. In the case of type i (Wheat), one coin, no. 71, stands out from the rest by its size (16 rather than 11–12 mm) and weight (2·6 g, while the others are 1·3–1·8 g). Similarly in the Palm-branch type (r), one coin has

TABLE 2

Types. Size, and Weight

Type	No. of Specimens	Average size (mm)	Weight			
			min	max	average	median
Tyche:						
All Types (f)	78		2·0	9·3	6·3	6·4
f6	8	17–18	3·1	5·2	4·2	4·4
Excluding f6, f7, no. 44	66	19–20	4·4	9·3	6·6	6·7
Nike:						
All types (o, p, q)	64		2·4	9·4	5·1	5·3
Type q	19	15–16	2·4	6·0	2·9	3·5
Excluding q	45	17–19	3·1	9·4	6·0	5·5
Heracles (g)	31	16	2·7	7·6	4·4	4·2
Damascus Issues:						
Tyche seated (l)	15	18	5·7	8·5	7·3	7·1
Tyche standing (m)	3	?	3·0	4·6	3·9	4·1
Tyche advancing (n)	1	14	2·7		—	—
Palm Branch (r)	16	16–17	2·7	5·2	4·2	4·2
Tripod (s)	11	13–14	1·9	4·7	3·3	2·9
Cornucopia (h)	30	13	1·8	3·9	2·6	2·7
Wheat:						
Large (no. 71)	1	16	2·6		—	—
Small (i)	5	11–12	1·3	1·8	1·5	1·5
[NOTE: the weights of the tripod, palm and wheat types show normal distribution curves when plotted]						
Antiochus IV:						
ΔX	9		11·3	20·2	15·8	16·5
BX	10		6·2	8·9	7·5	7·4
AX	16		2·8	5·1	3·8	4·0

been described as struck on a smaller flan and with a smaller die than the rest.[96] These cases raise a serious problem. While it seems indeed plausible that a type might be struck in two denominations distinguished by weights of 2·7 and 4·2 g, how is an intermediate piece with a weight of 3·4 or 3·5 g to be assigned, and how did the user know its value? For a coin to function, its denomination needs to be clearly distinguished. Given the wide fluctuations of observed weights, it might be best to posit as few denominations as possible and to suppose that no great care was paid to the weights of the minor coins. In the small denominations, then, the type would seem to be the main means of distinguishing value.

For the Tyche and Nike coins the situation is more complex, since the range of weights is wide and the distribution irregular. The lightest coins of the

[96] Bedoukian, p. 23. I have presumed that the lightest coin listed under Bed 121 is intended, and have so adjusted the figures in Table 2.

Tyche type (f7), however, may be eliminated from consideration as being of crude types which probably represent irregular issues.[97] Likewise the coins with blundered legend (f6) should be considered separately in order to determine the practice of official mints. When these are removed the range of size and weight becomes more acceptable, though still broad: the Tyche coins are then of 4·4–9·3 g, with diameters of 16–22 mm. The greatest variation occurs among the coins without field letters (f5): 4·4–8·7 g (median, 6·6 g) and 16–22 mm. Much of this, however, results from overstriking on a variety of flans; those of Aradus are particularly broad. In these cases size and weight seem to be of little importance. The lightest of the group, no. 17, is one of a pair which have an unusual portrait and dies far smaller than the average. They presumably represent the practice of a different mint. The coins with monograms are more consistent: those with ⊤ (f4) are of 6·3–9·3 g (median, 7·8 g) and those with **ΔH** (f1–f3) range from 4·9 to 8·0 g (median, 6·1 g). The heaviest of the **ΔH** coins, no. 4, has a coating of tin, as if to give it a distinctive appearance. If this were a general practice, it could have served as an effective distinguishing feature and might suggest that this type was struck in two denominations, a heavier and a lighter. In the absence of further examples, however, it seems best to consider the whole Tyche series as representing one denomination with an average weight of about 6·6 g, which may have varied from one mint to another.

The Nike coins are more complex, both in style and distribution of weights. They fall into two major groups, one notably larger and heavier than the other. Coins of the first group have on the obverse a tiara decorated with a 'comet' (type o), or a normal tiara with a large letter **A** behind the head (type p); the latter have various field letters on the reverse. The forty-one examples of both types range in size from 17 to 20 mm, and in weight from 4·3 to 9·4 g (median, 5·7 g). The others are characterized by smaller flans, a finer style and a large **A** behind the head. If the largest and heaviest of these (no. 90),[98] which is uncharacteristically overstruck (and thus reflects the size and weight of the undertype) is excluded, the coins have diameters of 14–16 mm, and weigh 2·4–5·8 g. Their size, weight, and style thus seem to distinguish them from the rest. It is tempting at first sight to suppose that the **A** behind the head is a denomination mark like those which appear in the same position on the Seleucid bronzes, and indicates 'one' (e.g. chalcus). In that case, the Nike type could have two denominations. Unfortunately such an explanation would not account for the larger coins with **A**, unless they be considered as issues of a different place or period, and it be supposed that two groups of these coins needed to be marked with a denomination, for

[97] These are the type f7 (= Bed 98), of 2·0 g, there identified as a half denomination, and the present no. 44, of 3·3 g; both have been included in the graph.

[98] The **A** is not visible on the obverse of this coin which has been assigned on stylistic grounds; it has not been included among the '**A**' coins of Tables 1 and 2.

reasons not now evident.[99] Since no other obverse letters have been reported on the coinage of Tigranes, the **A** cannot be seen as part of a series of denomination marks, nor can its significance be determined with any certainty. For the moment the possibility that the Nike coins represent two denominations may be raised, but not proved.

TABLE 3

Denominations

Type	Actual		Theoretical	
	size	weight	multiples of units	size
I = Imperial title; R = Royal title				
Tyche excl. f6 I	19-20	6·6	6 or 12	18
Nike (o, p) R	17-19	6·0	6 or 12	18
Heracles (g) I	16	4·2	4 or 8	16
Palm Branch (r) R	16	4·2	4 or 8	16
Nike 'A' (q) R	15-16	3·5	4 or 8	16
Tripod (s) R	13-14	2·9	3 or 6	13
Cornucopia (h) I	13	2·7	3 or 6	13
Wheat (i) I	11-16	1·7	1½ or 3	12
Small type w?	8	1	1 or 2	8
Irregular Issues				
Tyche f6	17-18	4·4	4 or 8	18
Tyche f7	13	2	2 or 4	
Damascus Issues				
Tyche seated	18	7·1	6? or 12?	18
Tyche standing		4·1	4 or 8	
Tyche advancing	13	2·7	3 or 6	13

These considerations suggest a possible sequence of denominations as shown in Table 3. Although the regular factor of two which separates the weight of denominations of earlier coinage is absent, there appears to be a pattern affecting all the issues and involving factors of two and three. In some cases it becomes apparent that one denomination is represented by two or more types of the same size and weight. Since these may represent the products of different mints, the question of mints and their identity may now be considered.

[99] The **A** also appears on the obverse of other coins of comparable size and weight: type 's' (Bed 124), where it may have served to distinguish the coin from the larger type 'r' (Bed 123), though this is lighter and has an elephant facing the opposite direction; and the bronzes of Artavasdes II. These seem to exist in one denomination only, with an average weight of about 6 g. All are badly worn; Bed 134 is described as having the **A**; Bed 132, which seems to be the same type misread, also appears from the illustration to bear it; the illustrated specimens of Bed 133 and 135 are too worn to judge. A similar **A** appears behind the head of the Median king —imnalos on his rather smaller bronze: le Rider (1959), pp. 27f. These cases have no obvious explanation.

MINTS AND CIRCULATION

For the bronze coins, as for the tetradrachms, only one mint is certain. Types l, m, and n (Bed 109–13) were struck in Damascus: they portray the Tyche of that city, they are in the local style, and they have monograms characteristic of the local coinage.[100] The rest offer no such obvious criteria, yet the evidence of style, monograms, and circulation will enable many of them to be assigned with some degree of probability. The discussion must begin with one surprising exclusion. The most common bronzes, like the tetradrachms, bear the figure of the Tyche of Antioch, and it is most natural to suppose that they were struck there, in the greatest city of the kingdom. Good evidence exists, however, to show that Antioch produced none of the coins in question. From 92–69 BC, a period which includes the whole of Tigranes' rule in Syria, the mint of Antioch issued an abundant series of 'autonomous' bronzes; since they bear dates, there is no doubt that they were the local small change of that time.[101] The excavations provide striking confirmation: of the 1,009 Hellenistic coins found on the site, 898 were of Antioch, among them eight local issues of this period; there was not a single coin of Tigranes.[102] It thus seems probable that Artaxiad copper coins did not circulate in the city. It would be possible, of course, to argue that they were struck there for circulation elsewhere, but there is no shortage of other likely mints. Antioch may therefore be eliminated.

The varying portraits may be of help in classifying if not attributing the issues. The most common are of types β and ζ which between them account for 83 of the present 107 coins. Type β is particularly consistent, displaying only one significant variety. It appears on coins with the imperial title and types of Tyche (f), Heracles (g), and Cornucopia (h). This portrait is virtually identical with that of tetradrachm class B and bears a strong resemblance to that found on class E and a few drachms (Bed 50). The main characteristic of portrait ζ is the 'comet' tiara. This appears on coins with the royal title and types of Nike, Palm, or Tripod. The portraits, like the reverses, are subject to numerous variations, which may indicate several mints over a long passage of time. Many are extremely close in style to tetradrachm class D and the unique drachm Bed 49. Both portrait types indicate that a large issue of bronzes is associated with rare silver coins; conversely the majority of the silver issues have no analogy in the bronze. Notably, the portraits of the Antioch coins are absent here, a phenomenon which confirms that city as a place which did not strike minor coinage in the king's name.

Some of the other portraits are rare and offer little or no analogy. Type α appears only on the early bronzes and γ on Tyche coins with small flans (nos.

[100] See n. 22 above.

[101] See *BMC Galatia*, pp. 153f.; cf. Newell, op. cit. in n. 27, p. 124, and Seyrig, op. cit. in n. 34.

[102] D. Waage, *Antioch on the Orontes IV. 2. Greek, Roman and Byzantine Coins* (Princeton, 1952).

17, 18). The latter bear some resemblance to tetradrachms of class C and to the large elephant type, t; both of those, however, bear the royal rather than the imperial title. Portrait δ appears only on the Tyche coins with blundered legend (f6) which form a group apart, ε on the rare Tyche type with the royal title (k), and on the carefully-designed coins with a unique tiara of type q; these too have no parallel. Others are too rare (or too badly preserved) to support discussion. Considerations of style, therefore, would suggest the presence of two major and several minor mints.

Most of the bronzes bear letters on the reverse which may be of further value for establishing a classification. They appear as follows:

TABLE 4

Monograms

Coins with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ

	Δ^{H}_{A}	ΔΗ/Α	ΔΗ	Ͳ/Α	Α/Ͳ	ΤΑ	*None*	*Other*
Tetradrachms	B							A
Drachms								Bed 50–87
Tyche Æ	f1		f2, 3	f4		f6	f5	
Heracles			g1	g3	g2		g4	
Cornucopia		h2, 3	h1	h4				
Wheat			i3	(i1)			i2	

Coins with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ

	ΔΗΜΟ	$\Delta^{}_{M}$H	ΔΗΜ	ΔΜ	Η	*None*	*Other*
Tetradrachms	D	E					C, F, G, H, I, J, K, L
Drachms	Bed 49						
Nike Æ			o1, 5	o3, 4		o2	
Palm	r2		r1				
Tripod					s1	s2	

The table clearly reveals a phenomenon noted in connection with the portrait types: the coins fall into two distinct groups with almost no overlapping, and the silver issues have little in common with the bronze. Of the numerous types of tetradrachms with the royal title, only two find an analogy with the bronze, and only one solitary drachm shares a monogram with bronze coins. Style and monograms coordinate well, with bronzes of the first group bearing the portrait β and those of the second, ζ.

Identity of style and monograms suggests that the coins with the imperial title, in both bronze and silver, are closely related. Among the bronze issues, some obverses of Tyche and Heracles types share a common die (nos. 5–7,

45–7); both were probably products of the same mint. Field letters similarly reflect a close relation. They appear in three main varieties: ⊤A, ΔH, and none.[103] The variations ΔHA and A⊤ seem not to represent real varieties, for they appear on coins of identical style, and in the latter case are united by a common deviation from the normal die-axis. Likewise the letters TA appear only on the curious coins (f6) with blundered legend, distinguished in every way from the others.[104] The two main groups of field letters, ⊤A and ΔH are joined by style and, in the Heracles types (nos. 45–52), by the aberrant die-axis. It therefore seems probable that they are the products of different magistrates or workshops at the same mint. In that case most of the bronzes with the imperial title would have been struck at one mint only.

Coins with the royal title are more complicated, but still allow a pattern to be perceived. Most have a portrait of style ζ with the letters ΔHMO, ΔHM, or ΔM in various positions. The ΔHM pieces of the Nike (o1) and Palm (r1) types are stylistically very close, while the others are somewhat similar but display more variation. It seems likely that all these letters represent the same abbreviation, for nos. 97 and 98 of the straight palm branch variety (r2) and ΔHMO share an obverse die with Bed 121 of curved branch (r1) and ΔHM. Likewise the ΔHMO silver coins (class D, Bed 49) are of a style virtually identical with the ΔHM bronzes. Style also suggests that the Tripod coins with H (s1) be associated with this mint. Variations in this group are more pronounced than in the preceding and suggest that more than one mint was involved. The Nike A coins (q) in any case are of a different style and have no monogram. They probably belong to another mint of the same region. Note that coins with the royal title are hardly ever overstruck, only one example being recorded.

The two groups are well-defined, but not entirely separate, for two classes of coins form a link between them. Most notable are the tetradrachms of class E. These have a portrait remarkably like that of the bronzes of portrait style β. Configuration of features and tiara is similar, and the latter bears the star and two eagles of the Tyche bronzes and most of the tetradrachms. The reverse of class E has the letters ΔH on either side of the figure, as on many of the bronzes, but adds an M on the rock, making the reading ΔHM inevitable. By its use of the royal title, also, this type is analogous with the ΔHM bronzes. Similarly, some bronzes of the Nike type with royal title (o3–o5, p) and the letters ΔM or ΔHM have the tiara with sun and two eagles rather than the usual 'comet'. All these coins appear to be associated with the 'royal' ΔHM group, yet have much in common with the 'imperial'. They may indicate that

[103] Although there are fewer examples in the present lot, the ⊤A coins are more common than the ΔH, representing 17 and 9 respectively of the Tyche type, 14 and 4 of the Heracles, and 17 and 3 of the cornucopia; 35 other Tyche coins, many of them overstrikes, have no visible field letter. Coins with the letters are rarely struck on used flans; only four have been reported.

[104] See also n. 61 above.

both mints had on occasion artisans sent from the same centre, or perhaps that they were not far apart or that the coins were struck at different times.

The field letters appear to be signatures rather than mint marks, and attempts to identify them as the latter have not met with success.[105] Identification of the mints, therefore, is to be sought elsewhere, particularly in the evidence for find spots and circulation. This, in effect, is very poor, and can only point in certain directions without providing conclusive solutions.

The large number of coins in the present group and the provenance in the southern part of the Armenian domains (the lot is supposed to have come from a site on the border of Syria and the Lebanon) raises the possibility of a connection with the military operations of the years prior to the Roman intervention, when Tigranes conquered much of Syria and Phoenicia. The coins could come from a town which served as a market to the vast armies involved, or from a site where they were based. In these cases they could have been struck almost anywhere and been brought in by the soldiers or their paymasters. The variety of types, which implies coin assembled from many parts of the realm, would tend to support such an interpretation.

The overstrikes, on the other hand, suggest another dimension: rapid production of coinage for the army, making use of whatever was available in the conquered territories. The overstriking could have been done by a travelling military mint, or by one established in one of the Armenian bases of the region, such as the commercial settlement on Mount Amanus or the 'Villages of Tigranes' in Coele-Syria. Considerations of style would favour the notion of a travelling mint, for the overstrikes are very close to the other Tyche types; a central mint might thus have sent out artisans with the troops, and their work perpetuated the characteristics of a metropolitan region. This could be the mint which struck coins without field letters.

The quantity of captured coin must have been substantial, and a good deal of it shipped back eventually to a central mint, for some Phoenician coins were overstruck by mint ΤΑ which was certainly not in this region, and others were still available to be overstruck by Artavasdes II who did not control these territories. An alternative explanation could be advanced: that coins of Phoenicia circulated so widely that they were common in areas under Armenian control after the withdrawal from Syria. The hoard of silver coins from Sarnakunk which contained numerous coins of Tyre shows that Phoenician silver circulated in remote parts of Armenia.[106] The lower value of bronze, however, would seem not to justify long-distance transport in the conditions of normal trade, and it is usually supposed (and often demon-

[105] See above, p. 29; the theory of B. Garabetian ('Monnaie de bronze inédite de Tigrane le grand, frappée à Démétrias' in *Congrès International de Numismatique. Actes* (Paris, 1957), pp. 133–6) that the ΔΗΜ of the Nike type stood for Demetrias, a name given to Damascus by Demetrius III (96–87 BC) was refuted by le Rider (1959), 22–4.

[106] The hoard (*CH* 1. 105, correcting *IGCH* 1746) contained 37 tetradrachms of Tyre and one each of Sidon and Aradus out of 373; see Mushegyan, *Klady*.

strated) that bronze coins did not circulate far from their place of issue. The large Nisibis hoard, fully a third of which consisted of coins struck in Antioch (211 of 624) would seem to stand in contradiction, but its Antiochene coins have been plausibly explained as forming part of the booty from the campaign of Pacorus in 52 BC.[107] It seems most probable, therefore, that the Phoenician bronze did not circulate in Armenia and that the present lot is to be connected with military operations. Only further hoards, fully reported, will allow it to be put in context. These coins, in other words, provide little evidence for location of mints, beside raising the possibility of one travelling with the army, or situated in the south.

Other reported finds would be more helpful if they contained more coins. Excavations have produced only scattered examples: one bronze of the Nike type was found at Garni in Armenia, and three others at Dura-Europus on the Euphrates, at or beyond the boundaries of Tigranes' kingdom.[108] Of the latter, one was identical in style to no. 75 and overstruck on a Seleucid coin.

The region of Nisibis has produced a few small 'hoards' of some interest. Five supposedly from the city have included bronzes of Tigranes, the majority of them of the Nike type.[109] Another hoard from 'Derik' consisted entirely of Armenian coins, six of Tigranes; of these, three were Nike, two Heracles, and one Tyche.[110]

This evidence is too slim to support a conclusion, but may be of value when combined with known history. Nisibis was one of the great cities of Tigranes' empire, a Greek city long since refounded as Antioch in Mygdonia, a main centre of population and trade; it would be the logical site for a mint from which coin could easily be distributed through the populous regions of Mesopotamia and to the eastern and southern frontiers. The apparent predominance of the Nike type in the region might suggest that they and related coins were struck here, and that the **ΔHMO**, **ΔHM**, or **ΔM** mint is to be identified as Nisibis. In that case the city would have struck a great deal of bronze and little silver, all with the royal title appropriate to a Greek city. The bronzes circulated in a wide region stretching from Armenia to Syria. Their

[107] Seyrig, 'Nisibe', pp. 91f., 123.

[108] Garni: B. Arakelyan, 'Excavations at Garni 1951-1955' in H. Field, ed., *Contributions to the Archaeology of Armenia*, tr. A. Krimgold (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), p. 151; the coin was described as illegible, but the reported detail that the outstretched hand of the goddess touched the third letter of Tigranes' name indicates a Nike issue. Dura: Bellinger, op. cit. in n. 72, nos. 112, 112a.

[109] P. Bedoukian, 'Five hoards containing coins of the Artaxiads of Armenia', *Rev. Et. Arm.* 5 (1968), 421-33. Hoards 1-4 had one Tigranes issue each, of which 3 Nike, 1 Tyche. Note that these are probably not hoards, but dealers' accumulations from town or district. Kh. Mousheghian, 'Latest numismatic acquisitions' (summary of an article in Armenian), *Arm. Num. J.* 8 (1982), p. 22, gives an unspecified number of coins of several types from the vicinity of Nisibis, the proportions not stated.

[110] Bedoukian, op. cit. in n. 109, no. 5. The find spot, described as 150 km from Kamishli (Nisibis) might be Darik in Syria, about 50 km to the east near the Iraqi border, or Derik in Turkey, about 90 km to the northwest at the foot of Mount Masius, west of Mardin.

appearance in the present lot and virtually all collections shows that they are common, evidently having been struck in large quantities. Nisibis may thus be advanced for consideration as one of the two major mints for the bronze coinage.

The other is simple enough to postulate. It would have been a non-Greek city of considerable size (for its coins are very common) situated in a place where the imperial title was current, but with some connection with the Greek world, and possibly not too far from Nisibis. The careful style of its coins, generally better executed than those attributed to Nisibis, indicates a place where a high standard of craftsmanship was available, quite probably in the hands of Greeks. Stylistically, the coins are connected both with 'Nisibis' and with Armenia, so that a northern location would seem indicated. All these conditions point to the capital, Tigranocerta, to which coins have not yet been assigned. The city would thus appear as a major mint, the greatest in the kingdom for the bronze coinage, just as Antioch was the main centre for production of tetradrachms, and Artaxata apparently for drachms. The few silver coins are perhaps to be seen as prestige issues for a region where tetradrachms were not normally in use, while the large bronze issues could have served the needs of small trade and the army, hence their abundance in the present lot.

No such conclusions may be drawn for the minor issues. The coins with Tyche reverse and blundered legend (f6), as noted, are probably a local issue, perhaps from Syria. The unusual type j with biga (and the analogous fractional silver Bed 90) is probably to be assigned to the north because of its imperial title, while the rare Tyche type with royal title (k) should belong to the Hellenized area of Syria or Mesopotamia. Such a vague attribution would suit the minor varieties of the Nike type (o, p, q), with the 'comet' being taken, perhaps, as indicative of Nisibis, and its absence pointing to other cities of the region. This type seems to have been more widespread than others. Finally the elephant types (t and u, along with the small silver Bed 88) are perhaps to be assigned to Syria by their similarity to Seleucid issues.[111]

CHRONOLOGY

The bronze coinage offers little more evidence for dating than the silver. One series, types a–e, is most probably very early, from the first decade of the reign. The Damascus coins are to be dated according to the closely related tetradrachms to 72–69 BC. The rest offer only approximate chronology.

The Tyche bronzes may be considered contemporary with the analogous tetradrachms and assigned to the period after the conquest of Antioch in 83. Since other types with the imperial title are closely allied, they may also be seen as contemporary, representing the minor coinage of the less Hellenized areas

[111] As suggested by Bedoukian, p. 23.

where that title would have been current. The Nike and related types appear to have been issued in the same period and to be the coinage of the Greek areas of the south, according to their royal title. Both groups were evidently struck in large quantities; they thus represent the abundant coinage needed by the empire at its height, 83–69 BC, when Syria and the adjacent lands were under the rule of Tigranes.

One small group of Nike coins (type p) bears field letters which might be interpreted as dates. No. 81 has the letters ΛΓ, '33'. If this is a regnal year, the coin would have been struck in 63 BC, and the series represent issues of the period after the Armenian withdrawal from Syria. So far, it has not been possible to identify other late issues which would correspond with the drachms and tetradrachms of class A. Unfortunately the present lot, though a large and important find, cannot be considered a hoard, and therefore cannot contribute significantly to this question. It should, however, at least give an idea of the coinage in circulation in Syria and Phoenicia at the time of the Armenian occupation, when their kingdom was at its height.

CONCLUSIONS

The present investigation has attempted to make some sense of the coinage of Tigranes by proposing new classifications of both silver and bronze based on the incomplete and sometimes vague evidence available. It has been possible to suggest a definition of the coinage, removing some types previously assigned, and adding a few new ones. Likewise, coins have been taken away from 'Tigranes I' and attributed, along with a new type, to Tigranes the Younger, whose issues are necessarily contemporary with those of his father and thus to be seen in their context.

The study of metrology shows (what was already obvious) that the bronzes were struck in several denominations; and that these were distinguished by size, weight, and especially type. The result is a double series of coins with the royal or imperial titles, apparently struck on the same standard and representing corresponding denominations, a series reflected also in the Damascus issues. It seems difficult to fit the observed data into a neat sequence of denominations connected by multiples of two, but a system based on multiples of two and three does seem to exist and perhaps had some validity. Further definition of mints might resolve some of the irregularities. The silver, of course, poses no such problems: the identity of drachms and tetradrachms is beyond dispute; only the three unique small pieces remain anomalous, with no explanation suggesting itself.

In classifying the various issues, I have attempted to make use of the evidence of style by suggesting that the portraits may have some relevance for assignment to mints, and of history in an attempt to define the regions where these coins might or might not have been struck. The poorly-reported

evidence of find spots has been of some value in assigning both silver and bronze and for postulating the existence of a mint far to the south in the conquered territories. The results suggest that several mints were in use, more perhaps for the silver than the bronze, and that the most active of these were Antioch for the tetradrachms, Artaxata for the drachms, Tigranocerta for imperial bronze, and Nisibis for the royal minor coinage. The mints may be summarized as follows, proceeding from north to south:

Artaxata: Tetradrachms type (A), most drachms; perhaps early bronze (a–e)
Tigranocerta: Tetradrachms (B); small silver Bed 89 and 90; bronze with imperial title (f–j)
Nisibis: Tetradrachms (D) and (E); bronze with royal title and 'comet' tiara (o1, o2, r, s)
Mesopotamia(?): Tetradrachms (C); bronze with royal title and normal tiara (o3, o4, o5, p, q)
Seleucia on the Euphrates: Tetradrachms (L)
Antioch: Tetradrachms (F) (G) (H)
Syria: Tetradrachms (I) (J) (K); small silver Bed 88(?); anomalous bronzes (k, t–w)?
Damascus: Tetradrachms and bronzes (l, m, n) of Damascus types
Military mint in Syria or Phoenicia(?): Bronzes with imperial title and no field letter (f5, g4)
Local mint in Phoenicia or Syria: Tyche bronzes with blundered legend (f6)

These assignments are offered with varying degrees of probability, but may serve as a preliminary classification until more coins are reported with find spots, and a proper study of die-linkage has been undertaken.

Similarly, a little may be postulated about chronology, with some issues earlier or later than others, and the great majority falling in the middle years of the reign. The following scheme may be suggested:

Early issues, *c.*95–85 BC: Bronze types a–e
83–69 BC, during occupation of Syria: most tetradrachms and bronzes
72–69 BC: Damascus issues
*c.*70–66 BC: Bronzes of Tigranes the Younger
*c.*70–56 BC: Continuing issues of bronzes of Nisibis and Mesopotamia, to be defined
*c.*65–60 BC: Dated(?) Nike bronzes (p)
61–57 BC: Tetradrachms (A), most drachms.

Many uncertainties remain, many questions are unanswered, especially in regard to chronology, where further progress will probably depend on the publication of more coins with details of context. For the moment, however, it has been possible to make some suggestions on which future work may perhaps build, and to hope that a clearer picture of this complex series will have emerged.

E

F1

F2

F4

G

H

I1

I4

J2

L1

Antiochus of Commagene

1

4

9

18

20

21

23

30

38

43

47

57

59

63

65

FOSS, TIGRANES THE GREAT (2)

67
70
74
76
79
80
88
89
96
97
100
101
105
106
j
(×1·5)